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Learn That Word!

Two words in Dr. Reyburn's "Christianity in Cultures" department may give some readers trouble in this issue. He uses complex in a specialized, but very useful, way, and he uses the French term evolue, because there is no ready, simple translation for the term. These words will be defined below, and then we will go on to discuss other expressions constantly recurring in Practical Anthropology. Our purpose in this department is not to fill the function of a dictionary, but simply to fill in information for some readers on words of specialized value as they occur in the pages of PA.

A culture complex is a grouping or clustering of cultural traits or characteristics. Take the automobile in our own society. It is not a single cultural item, but has an enormous array of related cultural features along with it in Western life. Manufacturing, sales, advertising, training in the driving of automobiles, stock car races, garages, gasolene manufacture and sale, and thousands of other parts of our life are part of the automobile complex. Remove the automobile, and you have not simply removed a certain number of millions of items from our highways, but you have radically damaged a major complex of our life, and one which has its ramifications throughout much of the rest of our culture.

Evolué, literally translated, means 'that which has evolved,' but such a definition is by no means adequate for this most useful term which refers without condescension to those members of a relatively simple or "primitive" society which have taken on many of the characteristics of French life. They speak the French language well, have been educated in the French schools, and identify themselves with French life and outlook in many ways. (continued on p. 195)

DON'T LEARN THAT LANGUAGE!

William D. Reyburn

"Don't learn that language" sounds like a rather pessimistic heading for a set of hints for language learning. This title is used to help contrast the idea of learning about a language with the learning of the utterances one says when he has an urge to speak.

These suggestions are built around the idea that a language is a whole construct which no one really employs except in the business of writing grammars and the like. It does little good to attempt to learn what someone has abstracted into a language system. What the "language learner" really needs is to know what specific utterances can go with what specific situations. The task of "learning a language" is, I feel, a psychological barrier to learning to speak. If we cease to think in terms of learning the abstracted language, with all its idiosyncrasies and illogical ways of behaving, and work to learn an utterance for every situation, we will find that we begin to speak with our first simple phrases and the task of speaking is merely that of expanding the situations and the appropriate phrases.

These suggestions are methods which I have personally employed in learning languages. Naturally, I cannot guarantee that they will solve all the language learning difficulties of others. The reader may, in fact, well get the impression that to use them would create more problems. However that may be, I am sure they will work for the person who will take the time and effort to put them into faithful practice. The major task is that of getting used to a method until it becomes quite automatic. From that point on the learner's mind will carry on with the technique. All he has to do then is give it the opportunity. Even if the reader does not find the cure for his language learning ills, he may discover some clue which, if adapted to his own way of doing things, may lead to more efficient language learning and understanding.[1] If the learner can make a habit out of some of the suggestions here, it may well lead him to the habit of speaking a second language.

Language Learning: Ability, Background, or Motivation?

It is no doubt true that all individuals do not come to a problem with the same mental equipment. Some people are quick and some are slow. Some understand things in detail, while others are more capable of making a mental synthesis. While differences in intelligence may affect the learning of a second language, there are many other factors which are also operative. In a few more years it will probably become a standard procedure in New York for the missionary candidate to take the one-hour language aptitude test developed by a Harvard psychologist. This test as used in the language programs of West Point and in the Air Force shows validation correlations as high as 80 percent between test scores and later language achievement. However, there are serious shortcomings to such tests which the tests cannot handle.

A person who may rank very high on such a test in a classroom might do very poorly in a field language learning program because he was activated to pass the test but could not possibly be motivated to learn the language of a black primitive African. Some societal groups in America and especially England prepare a person psychologically to make a unidirectional identification with only one kind of people speaking only one kind or brand of a language. These unfortunate souls are so narrowly oriented into a tiny in-group, with its pecularities of speech which all must try to ape to perfection, that they cannot force themselves to gravitate toward any kind of substandard (not to mention peasant or primitive) dialect. In our own general American culture there is a tendency for the younger generation to become more successful and educated than the parent generation, and hence to conform to a "higher" kind of speech.

These are examples of how one's background can and does prepare its speakers to possess mental blocks to acquiring outside or foreign speech. By maintaining a certain dialect of speech one maintains his social status. If this status means a great deal to a person's security, then he will defend the symbols which support that status. In this case it may mean the inability to adapt to any other kind of speech, for

as soon as this person hears his own voice making speech noises of another variety he feels a jerk downward. Hence he quits.

Eugene Nida cites[2] the case of a motivated and capable person who had an impossible time with a second language. When he began to investigate, Dr. Nida found that the person's parents had spoken a foreign language. The child had made a conscious effort to avoid the foreign language of the parents in order to identify himself with the dominant social element, the English-speaking community of children where he played. This person could no doubt be helped, but he would have to be willing to admit frankly his emotional block and gradually work it out of his feelings.

Dr. Nida also suggests that it is probably necessary to be uncommitted to a local form of speech in order to take on another language. This is only logical. One cannot be a committed Christian and at the same time a Communist. Or one cannot be committed to Communism and at the same time be a Christian. In order to go from one to the other, one must destroy and put away very basic beliefs or the transition simply cannot be made. If you find that your background has caused you to feel that every brand of American speech is detestable and inferior to yours, you are in for language learning troubles. If you are a social climber pushed headlong toward an identification with the upper crust, you will do best to learn to speak "upper crust" instead of Bulu or Basa. If you honestly do not feel bad when someone kids you for your substandard twang or your Southern drawl, and if you can mimic people's speech, you are apt to learn a language. People who have a tendency to side with the underdog have a decided advantage in the matter of learning the language of a simple folk culture. If you are insecure about your first language, you will probably never be secure in a second one. The lack of security in a language means that added consciousness of being a foreigner.

Furthermore, people who have lots of contacts with speakers of the foreign language are apt to learn well if they are interested in identifying themselves with the people. Why do

you suppose that field geologists working for oil companies in South America learn Spanish better than technical engineers? Simply because the geologist is out in the country with the people, whereas the technical engineer is surrounded by other U.S. technical engineers. The same oil companies find that an engineer of Italian extraction learns Spanish fluently in two years. Why is this? The U.S. Italian looks like and behaves like his Latin American cousin, and consequently he finds it a natural thing to identify himself with the Latins.

We often assume that a missionary, of all people, would be motivated to learn the African language. However, as we have indicated above, the problem of motivation is often complex. It is made even more so due to the fact that a missionary may go to France with high motivation to learn French and, having accomplished some degree of success, he next arrives in the Cameroun with his motivation for the African language at a very low ebb. "Oh me, not another language!" The missionary in the French Cameroun accepts a heavy responsibility due to the ethnic complexity of that country, and he must find ways to gird up his language motivation through at least one African language in addition to French.

The task of each individual missionary is to cast up his position before himself in terms of ability, background, and motivation. Then, with this clearly in mind, he must set about language work with a whole heart.

Language is the Reflection of Customs and Thoughts

The greatest deficiency in any language learning program is the assumption that one can merely learn a language and thereby "communicate" with the speakers of that language. It is true that one can speak on a great variety of subjects and engage people in a serious exchange of words and thoughts without knowing how those thoughts reflected in the language are felt to be true or false by the people. Real communication takes place between two people when each understands the assumptions which lie behind the other's words and phrases. This is an ideal situation, but it can only be approached through an intimate acquaintance with the feeling and thought patterns

of the people. This is tantamount to saying that the purpose of language learning is to be able to handle the language in order to find out what the meanings are. The meanings are not just in the English or French equivalents of the African words but, rather, in the total impression these words make on the African's thinking.

Take a simple illustration. While in the bookstore in Ebolowa with a non-Christian Bulu friend, I noticed a very attractive Negress on the cover of a French magazine. Pointing it out to my friend, I asked, Ye w'anye'e minga nyo? 'Do you like this woman?' His rather astonished reply was, Ye o ne ngule ya ve ma? 'You can give her to me?' My question arose out of an American "cover girl" idea about which any number of remarks could be made. My Bulu friend responded out of a Bulu "female" concept. My question, "Do you like this woman?" stimulated a Bulu thought pattern which is sex-productivity-marriage linked in a way in which the English is perhaps only slightly linked. Consequently, my Bulu friend received my message within a framework which I was not prepared for. His reply, accompanied by a very serious and intensely interested facial expression, caused me to see that I must translate my question for myself if I were to understand it as he had. Now it said, "Do you want to have this woman?" My friend later carefully explained how such a question can occur in Bulu society. It is a question which may be asked in the preparation for marriage arrangements. It would have been better to ask whether the cover girl were pretty or not. Even so, the thought pattern of the Bulu mind will not be concerned about bust, hip, and waist, a la "Miss Universe," but of more practical thoughts of child bearing and dowry rights.

We can rightly ask, then, if we really understand what we talk about. The truth is that most of our talk is so pragmatic that we are satisfied if we have evidence for some minimal comprehension passing back and forth.

If you want to find out how disparate American and African thought concepts are, try telling half a dozen of your best knee-slapping American jokes in translated Bulu or Basa. Even if you adjust the material culture items to fit an African

setting, you will be surprised to find that they laugh at entirely the wrong place in the story or look at each other with uncomfortable embarrassment at the close of the story, not knowing what to do next. The point in a joke is an aspect of a culture which has its humorous side. The Kaka tell very funny stories about misfortunes that befell someone. These strike Euro-Americans as being pathetic episodes. However, if one observes the Kaka, he will notice how they will laugh hilariously at a person who falls from his bicycle and gets up bleeding from his wounds.

Every word in a language has its own private history, and there are reflections of various feelings and thought patterns at different historical stages of the language. Simply knowing a lot of verbs, nouns, and connectives does not mean that one can use them in the situations which the society prescribes them for. Language is a fiction. There are only utterances which are spoken under the stress or relief, pain or joy of an indefinite number of situations. Fortunately, the "urge to speak" situations are vastly more complex and numerous than the utterances that may be called forth. Hence the same old grumblings are used by the complainer who feels an untold number of complaints.

While all this is true, it is not possible to know "meanings" before you know words. Everyone starts with phrases and words with approximate meanings and develops slowly through intimate contact with the speakers to arrive at the meanings which lie behind the symbols. However, there is a tendency for one to gain a passable speaking and understanding knowledge of an African language and then allow his knowledge to glide along on a level which goes neither up nor down. If one has reached that deadening level of adding nothing new, learning no new words for months, it is simply because one has learned most of the utterances that are spoken in the situations in which he finds himself.

It is because of this that it is valuable to think of learning utterances suitable for situations and not in terms of "learning a language." There is a psychological block which the "learner of a language" sets up for himself. When he has

learned the rules of the grammar, knows how to form new compounds, and is at home with his noun classes and their concordances, he deludes himself into thinking that he has "learned the language." He has learned it because to him the language was the learning of those aspects of grammar. He can speak and handle himself in his routine. He has, in spite of the grammar idea, learned by contact the utterances necessary (or at least the substitutional bases) for his daily set of situations. Under missionary specialization this is necessary. But it tends to set the effective limits of communication. The doctor is at home in the hospital ward and in the operating room, the pastor in the pulpit, and the mechanic in the shop. If language learning is approached not as a mountainous mass of material which one must slowly eat away at and digest, but as "there is an utterance for every situation," then one seeks out as many situations as possible and associates his utterances with these specific situations.

The Nature of a "Situation"

Every thought and activity which a human can indulge in is a "situation." One lives in thousands of fleeting situations (some active and others passive) in the space of a day. Take a simple example. It begins to grow dark, so I want light. I go to the generator. While on the way to the generator I remember that there is no gasoline in the tank. This reminds me of the key to the gas house. On the way I must pick up a can. While walking along the path I think of a relative at home, then, like a flash, I am thinking of a piece of work which I did not finish today. I have a problem that is perplexing me, and I rove over it in my mind as I unlock the gas house door. I see a snake on the floor which absorbs my whole attention. I get a stick and kill it. I am emotionally heightened now as I get the gas. I find myself relating under my breath to my little girl the story of the snake. Finally, I leave the gas house and start for the engine. I simply walk along with no thought until I look up and see the starting rope on a branch. I am reminded of a snake again. As I pour in the gas an African approaches and greets me. As I see his face I recall that we have a matter to discuss and the outline of our affair comes to my mind. We begin to talk. This is given to illus-

trate what I mean by "situations." Situations are the segmented mental images and thoughts which pour constantly through the mind as well as the real live encounters one has with other humans, snakes, engines, and all the variety of interpersonal or person-thing encounters in one's waking hours. After one is asleep, the subconscious continues to cook up these situations, some of them highly bizarre but still a kind of situation.

Given a variety of situations, the language learner asks but one question, What is an utterance a native speaker could use in this situation? There may be dozens of possibilities, but the learner is interested in at least one common one at the start.

If the principle of utterances in situations is clearly grasped, we may proceed with a more systematic approach. I repeat. If you are out to "learn the language," don't plan to learn the grammar. Prepare yourself mentally by proposing to learn an appropriate utterance (short and simple at first) for a given simple "situation." Remember that no one speaks a language. A language is a system which can only be abstracted from utterances people make in real or imaginary situations. Your task is to learn utterances appropriate to situations.

Hearing and Imitation

One must begin at zero with a language. There is no other starting point. The basic fault of language learning is committed precisely at this point. The natural tendency of schooled people is to suppose that one learns from seeing words on paper. It is no doubt true that a college graduate has such a print fixation for learning that he would be emotionally disturbed if his written words were taken from him. Hence, if one has to see words and phrases to learn them, they should be written in such a way as will signal all the phonetic values of the utterances. This is difficult to do either in music or in speech. Although phonetics books purport to approximate this, one cannot represent the exact values of pitch, rhythm, and vowel tone in such a way as would be practical to read. This can come only through careful listening

and imitation. One is certainly justified in attempting to write as many distinctive phonetic values as possible if it helps the learner. In tone languages one may find it a great help to mark tones on words whose tone does not readily stick in the mind. However, one cannot learn to pronounce the staccato effect of Spanish speech even by recording it with a satisfactory device. This learning comes through the careful practice of imitating native speakers and overcoming one's own background of language habits.

The first habit to acquire, then, is that of grasping in your ears the African's voice and speech in such a way that you can close your eyes and hear his voice (even unintelligible speech) long after he has gone. To do this it may help to try a little music appreciation. Go to a phonograph and put on a record. Now sit down and listen like you have never listened before. Force yourself to hear the rhythm only. Keep time with the rhythm by tapping the foot on the floor or beating a stick on the table. Where do the accents fall? Are the heavily accented beats regular, irregular, or displaced? Turn off the phonograph and whistle or sing awhile and make up your own rhythm. If you cannot sing or whistle, just say one-two-three, one-two-three, each time making the one pronounced louder and heavier than two and three. Then, instead of stressing the downbeat, mix up the rhythm. Notice the tempo of a piece of music. Is it fast or slow? Compare the length of a whole note with other notes. Just as with music, where rhythm is basic, speech also employs rhythmic movement. Get used to hearing a whole utterance and then imitating it with the strong rhythmic accents at the right intervals. Record utterances on tape, even though you do not understand them, and make the noises with la la la, paying particular attention to the stressed and unstressed parts.

Now tune your ears to the melody of your record and note how the scale is used to provide a tune. This tune may repeat itself in a similar fashion as it progresses. Listen to the song, then turn off the phonograph and hum, sing, or whistle something that is similar to the tune you have just heard. If you can do this, you are not tone deaf. If you cannot hear the melody, you are simply one of those unfortunate souls like the

color-blind. Do your best and explain to your critics that you are tone deaf. While listening to the melody of a song, one attempts to follow the melodic line wherever it may go on the scale. It is similar with speech. In the case of speech, it is much easier to catch the melody, as it employs less intervals and repeats itself more frequently than in music. If you can hum or sing the tune you have heard, then you can by the same token cause your speech voice to follow up and down over the melodic line of the native speaker's utterance.

Finally, listen to your musical record for the timbre or tone color. This timbre is analogous to color in a painting. Each kind of instrument in an orchestra has its own peculiar tonal characteristics. A violin could hardly be confused with a tuba. Distinguishing the tone of a clarinet from that of the bass clarinet is not so easy. However, in speech we are interested to note that there is some tendency for the people who speak a language (or dialect in close geographical areas) to give their speech a certain modal tone color. One can verify this by listening to Midwesterners of the same area or Southerners from the same area. There are also tone colors for different speech situations. In English the football announcer on the radio, the energetic but rhetorical preacher, the political orator, and the high school valedictorian all display situational kinds of tone color in their speeches. In learning to hear foreign speech one must be prepared for these tone color modulations which symbolize kinds of situations.

More important, however, is the fact that in hearing foreign speech one should learn to hear and hold in memory the tone color of the voice of a native speaker. Select a person who speaks clearly and listen to his voice until you are able to hear its tone quality long after you have separated. Practice bringing the sound of his voice back into your mental ears. When you speak, attempt to modulate your voice so as to approximate this mental voice picture which you retain. People learning a European language may do this with the voice of the news broadcaster. When you can "hear" his voice at any time you wish to recall it in your mental ears, then practice imitating it until you are convinced that your adjusted voice now sounds like the news broadcaster's. Record his and yours

on tape and compare the two. You may find it more practical to fasten on to the voice of some close African associate. Train yourself to hear his voice after you have returned from your work, and when you speak with him attempt to put his voice into your mouth. Voices differ as to tone color, of course, so do not try to imitate everyone you hear. Pick out a good clear one and work to imitate that one.

Anyone can learn to speak just like a native--provided the native is one who only whispers. The precision control of the vocal cords which gives a language its most distinctive quality is lost when one whispers. There is little difference in sound between a Frenchman's whispered voice and that of an ordinary student learning French. The great difference comes the moment the vocal cords are brought into play. Unfortunately, we cannot go around whispering all the time.

When one is thoroughly prepared to hear (phonetic training is a big help), then the problem is how to learn what one hears. The student of a new language requires two things to get started: (1) utterances which will make clear for him what the order of the elements in an utterance are, i.e. where the actor fits, where the action word attaches, and where the word acted upon goes; (2) fundamental vocabulary which is used in the process of getting a day's living. With these two sets the beginner is able to take off on his own at his own pace. Notice that we do not need to know the ten pronouns and which comes first, nor how many noun classes there are and the rules for their use. This is wasted human energy.

Stage I: The Initial Utterances

Learn by sheer grit of the brain and imagination a stock of utterances which are suitable to imaginary situations. This can often be done with the mission language lessons up to a point. However, in such lessons we may find "read" before we get to "eat." Even in a literate culture one can do more with "eat" than with "read."

The situation we will imagine in Bulu is that I am eating, so we ask the African to say it. We get our first feel for

construction as soon as we change the eating to wanting. Now we have a feel for order of the doer and the doing. In this way we keep getting utterances and at the same time we build up our feeling for order of words or parts of words. The first fifty utterances are not difficult because we have not learned enough to confuse our memory.

With each utterance one should imagine the situation or get into that situation. If you learn m'alañe kalate 'I read a book' by saying it over in Bulu and then going back and saying or thinking it out in English, you will set yourself way back. The utterance in the situation means that you associate the utterance m'alañe kalate with the act of reading a book by actually doing or at least imagining strongly. Consequently, when you hear m'alañe kalate you receive in your brain the situation image of "reading a book" and not the English or French translation of the utterance. If you caught the mental image of the "reading" situation and missed the pronoun, you are far ahead of the person who picked up the raw Bulu words and went through mentally scratching each out and putting in English words, and then coming out with the correct answer. This mental contortion is the first defeat in language learning. Save your mental energy for more useful things.

After you have gotten a good list of utterances in sufficient grammatical variety memorized so that they call up situations or are given in response to situations, you will know enough about the way the grammar works so that you will not have to think too much about it. The initial vocabulary of which these utterances consist should be the ones which signal the most common and fundamental activities in the daily routine of a native person. In Africa this means learning a few kinship terms such as brother and sister, father, etc. Some people, due to the task of running the house, get all the vocabulary necessary for ordering servants and this is their fundamental vocabulary. This may be necessary, but it should never be a goal!

The secret of this first stage in which one uses written lessons or gets the utterances directly from a native speaker is to practice with imitation, using all the powers you can

muster for hearing and imitating. Each time you hear the African say the sentence concentrate on some new aspect of his utterance. Always think of the situation provoked by the utterance and never of the words as written in Bulu or as translatable into English. You may find it handy to jot these utterances on slips of paper to review, but let me warn you that you are probably wasting your time unless you can discipline yourself to use such slips in the right way.

In the first stage the learning comes quickly and one zooms ahead with great success. Then one reaches that point where it seems nothing more can be digested. Try as you will, you do not seem to be able to take on any more. You sit with an African who goes over with you each utterance you know, and if he gives you a new word you feel like leaving it. You know it will not stick anywhere. You begin to think that you are a sorry apple at learning a language, and soon despair sets in. You have spent one month and now you think you are at road's end.

If you give up now, this will be the end of your road. The malaise that has struck you, however, is normal. Your brain has been working overtime making new neural connections, and it refuses to be pushed any further. You have mental indigestion, and to cure this you need to strengthen the new channels the brain has dug for you and not try to make any more. Since it is a kind of indigestion, you must now get it out of your system. How? By practicing it on anyone who will give you an ear. But your communication value at this point is a little foolish. You just seem to draw grunts of "Yes" or "No" from the African, and he shows no real interest in your attempt to hold his attention. If you know French, you can escape this dilemma, but remember that this is only temporary escape. The African is not a Frenchman and is expecting you to speak more than French. It is time now to learn to employ inner speech.

Inner Speech

The use of inner speech is a technique which children between the ages of 2 and 8 use to learn their language in their daily play routine. Observe a child in his play and you will learn the greatest secret in language acquisition. A child

talks to himself in endless repetitions about what he is doing and builds a wonderful world of fantasy supported on words and wishes which he scampers into, then tears it down and comes finally exhausted seeking food and sleep. His rich imagination causes him to fly airplanes through closed doors and to ride over the housetop on a magic stick. He has encounters with wild bears and giants and slays them with a shake of his hand. A child structures his imaginary situations out of the fabric of his fertile imagination and feeds reality into it with an endless stream of linguistic symbols.

Adult language learners can do the same. For the child it is a necessary and almost involuntary aspect of his language development. After normal language acquisition, it is difficult to go back and repeat this process. However, it can be done, and if the language learner will discipline himself to do it, the rewards in language learning will be greatly increased.

In the first stage of imaginary situations the learner has forced himself to learn to catch a mental picture in response to one of his utterances when it is spoken by another person and to give the particular utterance when stimulated by the appropriate situational setting. He never thinks through to the meaning via substitute symbols from a second language--no translation! He is now to employ his utterances in such a way that they will be incorporated into his inner speech system. In order to do this, each basic utterance will have a spot which is potentially open for inserting another word. If the basic utterance is "I am eating," then one will add to it all of the words for foods which one has and is learning.

I am eating fish
oranges
bananas
bread

I see a woman
man
dog
house

Where is my dog?
hat?
book?
stick?

Are you going to the village?
school?
house?

One cannot sit down and talk this kind of thing and make very good conversation. However, within one's own internal communication system one can change for hours, substituting these items and changing the situational responses. Even as you do this in your inner speech you should be hearing in your mental ears the voice of an African saying these just as you have heard him say them in your teacher-student practice. After having disciplined yourself to employ inner speech, you will be surprised how easy it is to say things in actual conversations.

The use of inner speech develops with your ability to use the language. Soon you can carry on situational conversations, running narratives, etc. For instance, in the case of starting the generator, each situation there can be verbalized in inner speech as it occurs. If you do not know the word for key, gasoline, or snake, stop and ask an African. Jot it down if necessary, but keep talking about the situation. But perhaps you will go crazy doing this. If so, you should find out as soon as possible!

The use of inner speech is a defense against letting your brain drag its wheels. During your daily activities, especially in a language school period, you will be going about doing many things which will require little concentration. Hence, in order to make good use of what you are learning, force yourself to converse with yourself in the language.

The end of the first stage (about one month) should then see you with good basic vocabulary about ordinary events with a fairly sure feel for the way to construct sentences. These utterances are associated with situations, i.e. their meaning,

and you have begun to use inner speech as the mechanism to provide the practice of repetition you need. If you have really employed inner speech consistently, you may find that you cannot turn it off at night and you may have some wild dreams in which everyone is yelling at you in a garbled form of the new language. If you strike this level, take a few days off and give your nerve endings a rest. Remember also that you can acquire vocabulary in meaningful units. If you learn "eat," also learn the associated behaviors of drinking, chewing. When you learn one pronoun, get the others within a week or so. Trees, hills,grass go together, as do sky, sun, clouds, rain, wind. When you learn related concepts (or opposites like love-hate), you can make up much better conversations about things.

Stage II: Real Situations

The first stage consisted of imagining a situation and then saying the appropriate utterance. This was the schoolroom textbook lesson stage. This stage was brought to its highest fruition by the employment of inner speech. The second stage moves the learner out among the people into real situations. Now comes the shock for the timid soul who feels like melting when the African villager squints through his eyes at the barely intelligible question or remark. The brave soul who is unabashed at his lack of the language charges head-on and bowls them over with his attack. Timid or brave, the sad experience that begins to come to light now is the second stage of that feeling "I can't ever remember what word they use." Even if one writes it down, it seems to be of no avail. In the real live situation there are too many new words. They come like a torrent that swamps the learner.

Sound-meaning Association Links

How to learn vocabulary and make it stick is the question we must try to answer now. Not all of the words of a language are of the same complexity. Some are long, with difficult combinations of sounds, while others may be short and simple phonetically. Not all words are learned or heard under the same emotional situations. The fact is, no two words are heard

under the exact same circumstances. The emotional feeling of the learner will vary greatly from time to time. At one period he may be very keen-witted and tend to catch everything that is new, while at another time he may be ill-disposed to speak or listen.

As vocabulary building develops, it is advisable to attempt to jot down new words on slips of paper. On one side the new word can be put in a short situational utterance. Following a conversational period, one should go immediately and work on these new words in inner speech, making up all kinds of conversations about them to fix them in mind. In the process of learning new vocabulary, if you are like me, you will find that words fall into one of three or so classes.

The first class are words which for some unknown reason just simply stick in the mind. Whenever you need that word it is ready. They are the easy ones which require no special effort. These are most commonly the frequently occurring words which you will hear over and over and will use a great deal from the beginning. These words may impress themselves upon your memory because of the emotional situation in which the word was learned; for example, an angry person bawling you out for a mistake you have made. Or they may have strange onomatopoetic sounds like the French word gargariser 'to gargle,' which literally sounds like gargling when pronounced by a Frenchman. Such words as these strike one as having a realistic quality in their sound patterns and are easy to recall. If a word gives you no trouble, there is no point in thinking about it. Save your energy for the hard ones.

The second group of words are those which do not readily stick in the mind and need to be hooked into position by some reinforcement. This work-locking task is accomplished through the process of sound-meaning associations. You may find that this method is too abstruse to be of practical value to you. If it is, try working out some other way. If you have a bit of imagination, you may find it valuable to experiment with. However, the ability to form association links depends upon practice and imagination. The more languages one may draw

association words from, the easier it is to find suitable association links.

To illustrate a simple case of association, let us suppose that we come across the Bulu word kot meaning 'to dry.' On our slip we write a short utterance such as ékop é ngenan tekot 'the skin isn't yet dry.' On the back of our slip we write the English word coat. Coat in this case is to signal "dry" or "being dry" or "dryness," etc. The sound of kot and coat are nearly the same, and English coat has to do with keeping the body dry. You may rightly object that if you think coat as an association link for Bulu kot 'to dry,' you may get your wires crossed and think fur, sleeve, or buttons when you hear Bulu kot. It is true that you may do just this. But the purpose of an association link is like that of a scaffold which is intended to be discarded when that portion of the building is erected. Thus, if you use the association link in recall, then employ kot in situational utterances in inner speech a few times, then use it in live situations with an African speaker, you will soon notice that getting at kot via the association link coat is slow and expensive and no longer necessary, so you drop the scaffolding. However, it will have served its purpose by now. In order to show some kinds of association links, I have listed some examples below.

(a) Cognate words. When we learn French, we find that we have a lot of words in English that are already tailor-made for us. Many of these are academic words which come into English through Norman French: primitive, problème, difficultés, résurrection, moments, irrésistible, conception, volume, élément, forme. Such cognates require a slight adjustment of pronunciation, but with many such words we are merely speaking English in French.

The main problem with cognate words in Latin derivative languages is that many cognates are deceptive and mean something quite different from their English sound equivalent. For example, French rester is not English 'rest,' but 'to remain.' French remarquer is not 'to make a remark,' but 'to notice something.'

In the learning of French one needs to learn the deceptive cognates. The nondeceptive ones are no problem, but a case of straight transfer. Cognate words such as résurrection and English resurrection are a type of association, since all that is required is that one associate the English word resurrection with the French language and then pronounce it with French pronunciation. In African languages we will not find many such common cognates. There are, however, English terms which have come into African languages from English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and German by way of Pidgin English. Such words as tote (to carry), school, book, steamer, money, matches, engine, car are among them. Here again one associates certain known English words with the vocabulary of the African language.

(b) Words capable of forming strong associations. In the case of Bulu kot we associate English coat which is similar in sound and meaning. In the case of kot-coat we have an association which is considered a strong reinforcement. One should never forget the meaning of Bulu kot with an association link which is as phonetically similar as coat and whose secondary meaning is strong enough to suggest the meaning of kot. Bulu kup 'chicken' may be associated with chicken coop or merely with coop. This association is a bit less direct but is still strong on both counts of phonetic and semantic suggestion. If someone learning Bulu found that he could not remember the word for chicken in Bulu when he needed to use it, he would need a booster with the association link such as coop provides. If he finds himself talking about chickens with no trouble, he can let the chicken coop support fall away.

As was stated earlier, the more languages one knows, the easier it is to form associations. Bulu kalate 'book' or 'letter' probably comes from Spanish carta 'letter.' R and l are frequently substituted for each other across language boundaries, hence if we know Spanish carta it is but a slight shift to Bulu kalate. The association carta-kalate in this case gives us a strong phonetic-semantic association.

Strong associations (as well as weak ones) may not all be equally direct in their phonetic-semantic symbolism. If I can-

not remember the Bulu word jo 'to talk' and cannot find a good association, I may recall a person by the name of Joe who is a big talker. Each time I come across this slip of paper with Joe Smith's name on it, I know that on the other side is a sentence such as w'ate jo aya? 'What did you say?' I simply have to picture Joe Smith as a talkative person. There are many possibilities open for some words and practically none for others. For jo 'to say' I may grasp at joke, as joking is often in saying something; or choke (he chokes off his words), or I might think of the prophet Joel who had a great deal to say.

The secret of forming associations is to be able to do it fast enough so that it does not take time. After you have gotten used to practicing association formation you will be able to pick out a new word you hear in a conversation, lock it into place with an association, and never lose the thread of the conversation. To gain facility in this you may practice it while reading or speaking English. If you hear or read the utterance "And because the storm was threatening to sink the ship the sailors began to jettison the cargo," assuming that the meaning of the word jettison can be picked up from the context, you may lock its meaning in place with a flash thought by merely thinking of French jeter 'to throw.' Later, talk to yourself in inner speech about jeter-jettison and you will find weeks or months, perhaps years, later that jettison is a commonly recognizable word, even though you do not go around the house jettisoning your trash in the pit.

When you have reached the point where you can make a flash association of a new word heard in conversation without losing any detail of the conversation, you have arrived.

(c) Words capable of forming weak associations. A weak association link is one in which the link word does not signal as much phonetic-semantic (sound-meaning) suggestion as would be necessary for a really strong association. You will find that the bulk of the words of any language fall into this group. However, it must not be thought that a perfect association (complete identification) is necessary to suggest the sound and meaning of the native word. After considerable

practice you will find that the most minimal association in sound and meaning may be quite sufficient to bring the word into your thought. The danger of weak associations is that one may cook up a poor association that is actually such a roundabout process that it is worse than no association simply because one is going through too devious a route to arrive at his destination.

Associations should not be used with connective words and particles which are of frequent occurrence. In many languages such as Greek and German one must learn the many prefixes or suffixes and save the necessary association formation to identify the root of the word complex. In this way one is dealing usually with action and object kinds of words. The use of associations is less efficient with polysyllabic words. However, with some practice an association which calls forth the root or stem of the word is of invaluable aid.

Here are some examples of direct but second rank associations based on Bulu-English. Nkol 'hill' is associated with coal, as one digs coal out of hills. Njuk 'trouble': the Jews gave Christ trouble. Tɔñ 'to follow': one should follow the tone of the African informant. Liti' 'to show': litmus paper shows chemical results. Awu 'death': he was wooed by death, or he died because he was wounded. Afup 'garden': a food is produced in the garden. Joé 'name': Joey Sprague is his name. Ebuma 'fruit': a bloom becomes a fruit. Esaé 'work': a sigh comes from some who work. Mane 'to finish': I've managed to finish. Vom 'place': home is the place. Metyi 'blood': if I cut my cheek there will be blood. Lik 'leave behind': what leaks out is left behind. Kon 'to be sick': if you're too sick you lose consciousness. Bet 'go up': my bet goes up another dollar. Yam 'to cook': yams are good to cook.

One could go on indefinitely making up associations that would be as good as these. The particular association given here is but one out of many. There are others which would serve equally as well. It is entirely subjective and one is free to form the association which strikes his fancy. The only conditions are that the association carries enough sound and meaning similarity to stimulate the Bulu response and is

direct enough so that it is easily remembered. The purpose of association links is to reinforce recall and not to substitute for automatization in learning. The sooner one can discard the association link the better. No words locked in place with the help of association links should be allowed to remain in that status. They must be put to work immediately in live conversational situations so that the association link can be pushed out of the way as soon as possible. In the case of dead languages like Greek and Latin, one may continue the links as long as is necessary to gain rapid reading comprehension. Remember that associations will serve their purpose best if we get rid of them as soon as possible through the use of inner speech communication and live situation conversations.

Words incapable of any association link form the third group of words. Try as you may, calling upon a reserve of several languages, there are some words for which you will find no direct or indirect association. In these cases you must sweat it out. Write them down in familiar utterances, hear them as often as you can, and use them in your inner speech to win them. You may find, in spite of all of this, that they never seem to stay long. Be patient and keep trying. Someday, to your great surprise, some of them will start bobbing up in your thought. Your brain continues to work for you even after you have given up. The advantage of this threefold classification of words for the purpose of vocabulary building is to give you more time and energy to work on this third group. Since you now know the difference between a retainable and nonretainable word, you apply your concentrated effort to the latter group.

Associations for Distinguishing Minimal Differences

Many words in a language are phonetically different only by one sound, whether that is a regular letter of the alphabet, a tone, a stress, a vowel length, etc. Associations can readily be employed to keep these words straight in your thinking. Take the case of Bulu nkú which with ú on high tone means 'signal drum' and ù on low tone means 'salt.' The missionary wife who calls to her kitchen boy for nkú 'signal drum' will most likely get a delivery on the salt because the boy knows

there are no signal drums in the kitchen supply. This kind of error can be avoided by associating down tone with what the salt does--it goes down the throat; signal drum vibrations go up into the air.

Take the case of Bulu yem 'to know' and yen 'to see' with which the beginner may have trouble. To avoid confusing these one may do any number of things. If you know something about Old English, you can think of eyen, the Old English plural of eye which has now become eyes. One may associate yem 'to know' with seem, and yen 'to see' with seen. Yen is a Japanese monetary unit which can be easily seen. The n of yen may be associated with English notice and in this way kept separate from yem. Normally it is necessary to have a key for only one of a pair and the other will take care of itself as a remainder. Take the case of tili 'to write,' sili 'to ask,' and bili 'to have.' Here we have three which must be separated, so we will attach a clue to two and leave the third as an independent. For tili we will remember the t of 'write' and we may say in our inner speech such things as "writili." For sili we will associate s of 'ask,' "ask-sili." Now we have sufficient association so that t of tili signals 'write,' s of sili signals 'ask,' and bili 'to have' needs no special clue.

Such words as oyap 'far away' and ayap 'long' create special problems. Here, again, any good direct clue will serve. O of oyap can be associated with over there. As long as oyap is clearly associated, ayap should provide no more trouble.

If you confuse mvu 'dog' and mvus 'behind,' you may end up looking for your "behind" and talking about the good old "dog days" instead of the "days behind." We need an aid to attach to the s of mvus 'behind.' If you know Spanish, the answer is easy, atrás 'behind,' which ends in s. If you do not know Spanish, try English second; one who is second is mvus 'behind.' Behind times, slow, French suivre 'to follow behind,' are other examples. Perhaps you can use the Latin genitive agminis 'of the rear line.' Compare it with another African language you may know. Somewhere you will hit upon a good clue. If the mvu-mvus kind of problem gives you trouble in your conversation, it is worth a minute of your time to sit

down and clear the thing up once and for all. It will save a lot of time and trouble later.

There are real pitfalls contained in the nature of some words. Be careful and do not get trapped. Bulu fam 'male' may lead you to associate French femme and then via some transvestizing to straighten out the sexes. Remember that the phonetic element in an association is a trigger mechanism which sets you off on the path of the right sound response. However, the meaning aspect of the association triggers the meaning of the foreign word. You have two simultaneous explosions. Make them both count. Avoid the fam-femme kind of association in which French femme gives you a good push toward the sound of Bulu fam but completely confuses you as to the meaning.

Advanced Stage Associations

Thus far we have dealt with associations in terms of a sound-meaning link from a familiar language to the unfamiliar one. In the second stage (second month) of language learning one should begin to form associations between words within the new language. For example, if one has learned Bulu nkú 'signal drum' and kum 'wealth,' then later on hears these words fit together into one, he may think of "drum wealth," and a person who has "drum wealth" nkukum is a 'chief.' There are similarities in the sounds of hundreds of words in a language, and often it is possible to imagine some associated meaning. If in English you first learned "house" and then later came across the word "mouse," you could easily remember "mouse" on the association of "mouse" is a "midget" animal in a "house." Bulu ajoé 'banana' could serve to help you learn joé 'nose.' Simply picture a man with a banana for a nose. Of course, unless you practice in inner speech, you will probably really say "banana" instead of "nose," but at least you were close and it is not likely that you will make that mistake twice if you are laughed at!

A further stage of association is when you begin to associate related objects as clusters or complexes of things which just naturally go together. This kind of association is not

of the sound-meaning type, but rather the recognition of the interdependence which related cultural items have for each other. In American household vocabulary house cats and alarm clocks become associated, and the pun of "winding up the cat and putting out the alarm clock" reflects the fact that cats and alarm clocks are closely associated in the apartment culture of the U.S. An acquaintance of language as utterances appropriate to situations will provide the elements which seem most interrelated in a particular culture and, as language learning develops, these related elements should also be learned as complexes exhibiting their appropriate cultural uses.

You may say by now that the 64-dollar question has still not been answered. This may well be. However, I am willing to promise you that, if you will discipline yourself to use inner speech and to form good association links, your language learning will increase far more than 64 percent in efficiency. The actual results that can be obtained depend largely upon the motivation and practice of the language learner, not upon your natural ability to think one way or another

Stage III: Consolidation

The third month should be a period in which you make an effort to establish firmly the ground you have covered to this point. Even though you have made considerable use of inner speech communication and association links, you should not plan to turn the world upside down in three months. The third month should be the period of the rise of confidence which comes from being able to talk to people about your subject, not theirs. It is the period when you take the initiative to force a conversation and make it intelligible and interesting enough so that you can hold on to your listener. In so doing you are ready and open-minded to catch as many new items as you can. Your building system is still the same as in the previous month, but you are now actively taking the lead so that you can convince yourself that what you know can be made intelligible to native listeners. Keep your pencil and pad ready if you are the visual type and pick up new words and expressions. Do not forget that as the talker you have not forgotten to be a good listener.

A good exercise to practice at this point is the relating of an episode to your African teacher. Get him to assist you to construct your episode in as idiomatic a fashion as possible. Then, with a few brief notes or key word reminders, practice telling the story to your teacher. Then tell it to yourself in inner speech a few times. Now you are ready. You spy an African loafing in a chaise longue and you amble up exchanging the greetings of the day. Then you move the conversation toward the kind of events in your story, and before he knows it you are giving him a blow-by-blow account of your well-rehearsed narrative, which brings him to a sitting position and he is following your every gesture and word. Without doubt, you have convinced one person that you really speak this language. Now you begin to feel something of confidence and you can hardly wait to start preparing your next episode. After you have done this a few times you will most likely also get a chance to hear some stories in return. Perhaps you are still the timid type who gets all mixed up as soon as your listener sits up and begins to take notice of you. If this is your case, go tell your stories at night in the dying embers of the fire where you will not feel any piercing looks. Better yet, ask around if there are any blind people available. They usually have nothing to do and make excellent people to talk with.

After you have prepared half a dozen narratives about your experiences in some other part of the world, for example among the wild Snacirema tribe (spell it backwards), you will find that you are picking up vocabulary, but also you are getting a more secure feeling for what you had learned in stages I and II. The way to increase your confidence is to speak before people. Tell in your next episode how the Snacirema tribe lives in a city. (Incidentally, if you call them Snacirema instead of Americans, you will be surprised how much more you will learn about them.) The rise of confidence provides you with new and fresh motivation and you will feel a great urge to improve and move ahead. Perhaps at the end of your third month you are ready to speak in church. In the same way in which you have prepared your episodes now prepare your sermon. Do not have it all written out line for line. Do like you did with the stories. Have a small list of ten or twelve words

which will give you the signal for the idea you are trying to express. When you have said all that you plan to say, sit down; you are finished. Next time, you can make it longer.

This third month stage of taking the initiative for speaking is aimed primarily at building up your confidence. Some people need this more than others. The one who is already overconfident may find himself inadequate and suffer a defeat. At least he should know where he stands now. There may be the danger of feeling quite satisfied at one's progress at the end of the third month, and consequently at the end of the third year there is very little improvement that the native speaker can see.

Stage IV: Language in Culture: The Road to Meaning

The three stages so far have been three months given to preparation for the task of speaking in public with a degree of confidence in one's ability to express his thoughts with a minimum of linguistic or emotional disturbance. You will now soon find yourself out in your mission station or post beginning your duties. At this point you will decide the fate of your language learning. Most people will continue to learn and absorb until they feel adequate to handle the mission station linguistic and cultural situations. Here is the temptation of committing a serious error. One is apt to be led to think that the management of a mission hospital, school, station, or church is a true reflection of the raw stuff of which the African language and thought is made. The truth is that these are all white man institutions to which the African himself is adjusting and attempting to learn to think and operate under the guise of the white man's assumptions.

It is because of this that a young missionary in the middle of his first term may be heard to remark, "I have had two language schools and I have not learned a new word since the end of my first six months in the country." This is because the missionary has become quite sufficient linguistically for handling his routine around the hospital, school, shop, or church session. Whether or not the missionary moves ahead now depends on his determination to get into African situations

which are not often found on mission stations. The man or woman who continues to practice the learning techniques we have discussed and who does so in a great variety of African situations will not become stagnated with a "'nuff to get by" attitude. There is nothing which can so effectively lead one on into the thought patterns of the African's mind and language as a genuine desire to know the people among whom one works. This information is equally valid for the doctor, the teacher, the translator, or the pastor. The first three stages were only to get hold of the bottom rung on the ladder. Whether the missionary will rest contented at this level or will continue to climb will depend upon no one but himself. Remember that one can become exceedingly fluent with little, and the less one knows about the language and its meaning the more one is apt to misjudge African motives and behavior.

Witnessing to the eternal Word of God through the channels of a network enmeshed in a strange language and unfamiliar patterns of thought provides the oldest and still the greatest of all missionary challenges.

Footnotes

1. These notes are extremely limited in scope and are not intended to explain about languages or how one can analyze languages for learning. An excellent detailed account of these matters should be consulted in Learning a Foreign Language by E. A. Nida, (New York: Friendship Press, 1957).

2. See the editorial by Eugene A. Nida in The Bible Translator, Vol. 8, No. 3 (July, 1957), pp. 139-143, for a brief discussion of some of the psychological problems and motivation in language learning.

READING ABOUT CULTURES

James O. Buswell, III

There are three basic kinds of books with which one can begin a study of anthropological literature: (1) an anthropology textbook, which gives a broad survey of the field, (2) a book about a specific culture in which the reader may be interested, or (3) a book which surveys several different cultures chosen for their contrasts to illustrate the variety in human behavior.

This latter kind of book is often the most interesting to a beginner in anthropology. It contains the color and human interest of fascinating strange customs, yet carries its implicit (if not sometimes explicit) lessons about man and his cultural behavior.[1]

General Surveys

This year, with the publication of A Profile of Primitive Culture, another such first-rate general ethnographic survey is added to the available texts of this kind. Aside from the many surveys and ethnological handbooks devoted to a single region, the books which offer a description or sketch of several whole cultures are few indeed. Only three are devoted entirely to ethnographic description.

In 1934 Professor Murdock of Yale published Our Primitive Contemporaries, which by 1957 had been reprinted eighteen times, being widely used as a general ethnology text. In 1948 Professor Carleton Coon of Pennsylvania brought out A Reader in General Anthropology, a sampling of ethnographic descriptions organized along slightly different lines, but still eminently useful for general ethnology reading.

A Profile of Primitive Culture is the third which presents "a sample of the major types of non-Western cultures."

Including a description of twenty different societies, the volume is organized into four parts based upon criteria of economic productivity allowing for the social complexity of

Bands, Tribes, Primitive States, and Modern Folk Societies. The author, who is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, tells us in his preface: "The primary consideration, then, has been to select societies which illustrate these four levels or stages of complexity."

Murdock's and Coon's books are both organized on a simple-to-complex scheme, Murdock beginning with the extinct Tasmanians and ending with the West African kingdom of Dahomey, treating the societies of each region together. Coon's organization is strictly with reference to increased social complexity, commencing with gibbon society and ending with the Roman Empire! One of the valuable features of the Reader is his selection and editing of accounts which were written either by members of the society or by those who were intimately familiar with it at some period. As such, they do not always reflect "anthropological field work," but Coon's comments fill in both continuity and interpretation.

Economic productivity is not Service's only criterion for selection. As far as possible he has chosen "societies which are central or typical examples of distinct culture areas. . . in preference to special cases or marginal groups." Each chapter includes a brief characterization of the cultural area as a whole. This is particularly useful for those who want a world ethnological orientation in terms of culture areas.

A timely feature is the inclusion of the section on Modern Folk Societies which, the author indicates, "represents the greatest departure of the present work from its predecessors." They are all four "the contributions of anthropological field work" and have been chosen "to exhibit wide geographic distribution" providing "samples of four great contemporary streams of civilization. . .Hindu, Islamic, Chinese, and European."

Treating Special Problems

The six other books of a general ethnology nature may be considered in groups of two. C. Daryll Forde's Habitat, Economy and Society, written the same year as Murdock's (and now in its tenth printing), and Margaret Mead's Cooperation and

Competition among Primitive Peoples, published in 1937 (no longer in print), have special points of view. The ethnographic material is accompanied by ethnological theory oriented around particular interests: Forde's is geographical and economic; Mead's is psychological.

While Habitat, Economy and Society may be used effectively as a general ethnology text, it would probably be better for reading in primitive economics, for Forde points out: "From the ethnological point of view the studies are incomplete in so far as they concentrate on economic life and fail to deal, except incidentally and by allusion, with the religious and ceremonial life of the peoples concerned." He describes sixteen societies grouped under the headings of Food Gatherers, Cultivators, and Pastoral Nomads. Six chapters on Habitat and Economy complete the volume.

Margaret Mead's book is made up of the descriptions of thirteen societies by different authors, Mead, herself contributing three, plus a methodological introduction and concluding with an Interpretive Statement. Although the accounts were carefully selected and organized to illustrate comparative factors of cooperation and competition, they are well-rounded, and "each study may be regarded as a separate unit, standing on its own feet and important in its own right."

Some Other Treatments

The importance of including accounts of whole cultures in introductory anthropology texts has been reflected in only two such books, Goldenweiser's Early Civilizations (not included in its revision, Anthropology, 1937) and Lowie's An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, in the enlarged edition of 1940. Nine "tribal sketches" were added by Lowie because "teachers of anthropology in this country have urged. . .descriptions of typical cultures in their totality." Goldenweiser included accounts of six societies in his first book. Unfortunately, both are out of print.

One other general text, Ralph Piddington's An Introduction to Social Anthropology Vol. I provides an excellent survey of broad regions of cultural variety in his "Cook[illegible]"

chapters. But, although he does include a very brief sketch of Eskimo (8 pages) and Iriquois (5 pages) cultures, he only gives an adequate (29 pages) summary to one tribe, the Karadjeri, of Australia.

The last two books which come within this general category are each rather unique. Lisitzky's Four Ways to be Human is a general introduction to anthropology for readers of high-school age, treating the subject in terms of Maori, Hopi, Eskimo, and Semang cultures. Finally, Societies Around the World is an elaborate study in two volumes, treating in great detail the description and cultural change in Eskimo, Navajo, Beganda, Chinese Peasant, Cotton South (U.S.A.), and English Midlands cultures.

Including selections on these six cultures from the works of well over one hundred different authors, Societies Around the World constitutes an excellently edited tour de force of cross-cultural analysis of cultural dynamics. Readers of PA will be interested to know that only Service's Profile, Societies Around the World, and to a small degree, Mead's Cooperation and Competition pay much attention to culture change and the inroads of acculturation upon the various peoples discussed.

Valuable bibliographies on each culture are included in Service, Murdock, Mead, and Forde.

Modern folk cultures, besides those in Service and Societies Around the World, are treated by Coon ("The Division of Labour in an Indian Village" by Morris Opler and Rudra Datt Singh), Forde (the Indian state of Cochin), and Lowie (the Albanians).

It may be of interest to note that the value, and perhaps the popularity, of some of the primitive cultures seem to be indicated by the frequency of their treatment for the undergraduate reader. Out of the 78 different societies covered in these nine works, the Eskimo have been described in eight; the next most frequently described, the Hopi and the Arunta, in only four. The Semang, Baganda, Yahgan, and Iroquois are each

described in three. Fourteen societies are described twice, the rest only once.

The value in studying any or all of these nine works lies in the breadth of ethnological perspective, the impact of comparative values, and the tremendous variety in human culture which can be gained in a comparatively short time.

This is possible only because of the brevity and compactness of the treatment, however, and should in no way be considered an ethnological reading background for the student who expects to go beyond a general introduction to the field. One of the reasons so few such books have been compiled is that anthropology's chief literary building blocks are the more detailed and lengthy monographs which report, first hand, the field work which is fundamental to anthropological insights.

Prospective missionaries would do well to read through two or three of these surveys to gain a cross-cultural perspective before probing deeply into the literature on the people with whom they will be living.

Footnote

1. The books with which this article deals are:

C. S. Coon, A Reader in General Anthropology. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1948. 624 pp. $6.50.

C. D. Forde, Habitat, Economy and Society: A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1934. 500 pp. $5.50.

A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilizations. New York: Knopf. 1922. 428 pp. Out of print.

G. Lisitzky, Four Ways of Being Human. 303 pp. $4.50.

R. H. Lowie, An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. New York: Rinehart. 1940. 584 pp. $6.50.

M. Mead, Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1937. 531 pp. Out of print.

G. P. Murdock, Our Primitive Contemporaries. New York: Macmillan. 1934. 614 pp. $5.75.

R. Piddington, An Introduction to Social Anthropology. New York: Praeger. 1950.

I. T. Sanders, et al, Societies Around the World. New York: Dryden. 1953. Vol. I, 528 pp., Vol. II, 608 pp. $5.90 each. One-volume edition edited by Howard Becker in 1956. 811 pp. $6.50.

E. R. Service, A Profile of Primitive Culture. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. 474 pp. $6.00.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Off on the Wrong Foot

I have just been catching up on my reading of PA. The discussion of the question of giving is quite interesting ["How Do I Adjust to Giving?" Vol. 4 (1957), No. 3, pp. 89-100; Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 147-156]. My reaction is that they have all started off on the wrong foot. The quotation of Mat. 5:42 is a statement made by a man in an address to an audience of "common people" in the land of Palestine in the year 30-34 A.D. It was not made to the disciples and therefore is not binding, literally, upon disciples of today. I would suggest that our West African missionary make a careful study (1) of the Palestinian culture of the first century, (2) of his own cultural background, (3) of the culture of the African tribe.

It is dangerous to build up a whole theology on one verse taken out of its context. With Mat. 5:42 it might be well to consider 2 Thes. 3:10b. Acts 3:6 in its setting might offer a suggestion.

The wording in the above is not good anthropology, but I believe the idea is practical. The missionaries' constant objective is to present the Word of God. That should not be altered to conform to the customs of any people.

H. W. Greig
Cameroun, W. Africa

CHRISTIANITY IN CULTURES

The Missionary and Culture Diffusion II

This is the second in a series of three articles dealing with the missionary and his relation to the spread of culture. In the last issue it was pointed out how the missionary as a possessor of a modern world view of the universe confronts the folk man whose ontology is diametrically opposed to the former. It was also argued that modern man's historical and abstract views of man strike a sharp contrast to the folk man's mythological and nonabstract feeling for his fellow humans and kin group. In this article will be discussed certain aspects of the problem which depict the missionary as an instrument of material culture and role change. The third in this series will present the missionary's gospel message as a further tool for culture diffusion, and will then sum up the evidence presented and ask some pertinent questions concerning the relevance of this problem and indicate the major directions it is taking at this time in the world-wide missionary enterprise.

Impedimenta Americana

"We are here only to present the gospel, not American or Western civilization," remarked a missionary in Africa recently. At the very moment these words were pronounced this individual was sitting in a large brick house covered with a metal roof with rain gutters which carried the rain water to a cement cistern. A radio was broadcasting in French the news of developments in Algeria. A neatly set table under electric lights was being prepared for the eating of wild buffalo shot in the early morning by a Remington semiautomatic rifle. A polished pickup truck sat in the garage nearby. Children's tricycles and toys lay scattered about on the veranda. Stacks of books, newspapers, and magazines in several European and African languages were neatly arranged against the living room walls. Two évolué Africans sat in comfortable leather chairs awaiting dinner, listening to the news, and occasionally asking about buying certain household articles when the missionary went on furlough.

The truth of the matter is that the missionary in Africa seldom opens a barrel from home that he does not introduce some gadget of Western civilization à la 20th century. There was a time when it was difficult to diffuse these luxuries. However, today, in the French Camerouns at least, it has become standard practice for the missionary eventually to sell his goods (from kitchen utensils to trucks) to the African who has the cash. This means to the évolué class of Africans who are mainly government employees, private planters, or shop owners.

The introduction of education, largely the work of missions at first, provided the groundwork for the existence of the government employee group. The awakening caused by education aroused the desire for European goods. The introduction of cash crops by missions and government agencies means cash incomes. Cash incomes mean (in this area) acquisition of goods and further education, which in turn make it easier for the upper-class African to acquire European goods and ways and be acceptable to the white population. So great is the value of material culture in our own society that the missionary traveling in the bush will often go a long distance out of his way just to spend the night with an African who can provide a gas-lamp-lighted room with supper on a table and a metal bed to sleep on. Often such a person is sought out and admired by the European, who often prefers to overlook any personal lack of integrity in the individual.

A New Status to Maintain

Mission activity, with its schools and institutions, almost inevitably creates a social ranking in the local society. In certain parts of Africa today the mission hospitals have created a high-class, moderately wealthy group of doctors and nurses, and the schools have created the class of teachers. Industrial schools turn out artisans such as carpenters, masons, and others. The church creates a new social status in the role of the pastors, the elders, and the catechists. These new roles are those which adapt themselves most effectively to European ways and serve as the bilingual link between European and African. They are the object of the mission's efforts and

the channel through which the mission diffuses spiritual, technical, and gross material culture. This class is granted in African society a high position by the non évolué, and consequently there is a certain amount of pressure exerted to maintain upper status. In some cases this attempt to maintain a gap between upper and lower is costly and in the eyes of the European ludicrous. I have been invited to eat dinner with évolué Africans who sit about supressing miserable hunger pains in order not to eat before 9:00 p.m. This is a way of indicating to me that they are doing things as in French society. But more important is that they are communicating social status to the local Africans.

A postparturent mother at the Batouri mission hospital, the wife of an évolué, sat feeding her newborn babe from a baby bottle while her breasts painfully dripped with milk. She was willing to endure the physical pain in order to maintain her social distance from the common village women who would never dare take the privilege of bottle feeding. The two cases cited above are to these Africans signs of status which they have appropriated from Western culture, having seen it in missionaries and other Europeans. Another slightly similar case is that of a man in the village of Lolo who was an excellent hunter and tracker until he got hold of an overcoat. Now when we hunt together he insists on wearing this huge moth-eaten overcoat which inhibits his movements, wears him out, and gets tangled in the underbrush. If he hunts by himself or with his brothers, he leaves the coat behind, but when I am there he feels the coat is absolutely necessary. The fact that I tell him repeatedly that I do not have an overcoat makes no impression on him, possibly because he sees that I have shoes and he does not.

The European Social and Ideological Link

The missionary is not there to carry European or American culture, but he inevitably feels a pull toward his European neighbors. I have experienced this gravitation tendency in Quechua Indian villages in the high Andes of Ecuador and in the tropical forests of west Africa. After spending days with Quechua people, it was always a refreshing experience to devi-

ate off the trail and pass the night with a Spanish-speaking rancher whose world of thought was so much closer to my own than the Indians'. In the Camerouns I have spent a few weeks among the Kaka people without seeing another European. Finally when I encounter a French administrator or tobacco planter and we sit down to discuss the news of the day or talk about Africa, there is a common tie in our cultural background which makes the visit extremely enjoyable. One is struck by the ease with which interpersonal relations are established. To my mind, it is much more satisfying to hear a French administrator say, "I will pass by the village at 6:00 p.m. and pick you up," than to accustom myself to the Kaka statement, "I will arrive when the sun is about so." When the Frenchman fails to arrive on time, he has the expected excuse, but my Kaka friend has no excuse to offer and leaves me wondering. The common cultural bond with the European is very obvious to the African and tends to form an association and identification of missionary with administration, whether the missionary cares for it or not. In one Cameroun village where I was staying a French tobacco inspector heard a missionary was living in the village, so he came to visit me. Upon his arrival, an old woman put her head in the door and said, "Your brother has come." I had never seen the man before.

The Role is Often Acquired at Birth

The problem we are discussing here is simply that of role identification. It is possible to identify oneself under certain conditions with Africans so that you will be told that your heart is black. This is extremely heartening, especially in view of the political and national events these days. However, the separation is obvious and deep. It stems from birth. While living in Ecuador in a tiny Quechua village, I asked the men why they called me patroncito 'master,' and they replied, "Because you do not work." I immediately went to work with them in all their manual labor, such as planting fields, cultivating, hoeing corn, building a road, and numerous other tasks. After six weeks of hard work, I asked again, "Why do you still call me patroncito?" They replied, "Because you go with the white men." I managed to avoid contact with the Spanish-speaking townspeople for a long period. When asked

again, they replied, "Because you wear shoes." I put away my shoes and wore homespun fiber sandals like the Indians. This process continued until I did not see how there was any difference left. Then one day a group of men said, "Now, we will really tell you why you are patroncito. You were not born of an Indian mother." I was convinced.

New roles created in a society tend to shift the respect and prestige accorded to older roles. In the Cameroun the teaching of girls has tended to increase their dowry value which the father receives. In a society where the women are expected to be inferior to the men, a highly educated girl such as those at college level do not wish to marry their college classmates who would be their equals. These young ladies insist on marrying a doctor or wealthy African whose status is unquestionably superior to their own. This comes to educators as quite a frustration. The main problem of concern to these educated girls is not just education, but also status, a factor which makes African life intelligible to them.

Conclusion

It might well be thought that the missionary disrupts culture by disapproving heathen practices and insisting that people wear shoes. My own personal experience is that missionaries do not harp on heathen practices, but they very definitely encourage the wearing of shoes, simply by wearing them themselves. The introduction of education in the forms of schools and churches has wide ramifications which set the machinery rolling for culture change. Even the printing of a book in a folk language is one of many ways in which Christian missionaries begin to feed in information which will accelerate change and make inroads in the old way of life. The introduction of Christianity in this century is heavily secularized and institutionalized. The creation of a new class or classes within the old society opens up new channels for the diffusion of Western culture. The process is that of making a copy, an imitation. The copy can only be partial, especially where there are barriers for intimate contact. Strong pressures existing within the local society's values tend to interpret the meaning of the copy and regulate the way this process works.

In the next issue we shall examine the missionary as culture carrier of Westernization through his interpretation and presentation of the gospel message.

W.D.R.

EDITORIAL REMARKS

Respect and Ethnocentrism

A missionary once remarked to me that the reason why his mission had an unusually splendid record for competence in the use of the language of their area of work was that they had a high degree of respect for the local culture. I think it would be possible to point to many cases where respect for local culture correlates with language competence. It would be possible certainly to point to many cases where strong disrespect for local culture correlates with abysmal language use. It may be coincidence, but the one country of the world where, in my experience, the people are most criticized by missionaries serving there is also the country which seems to have the lowest level of missionary language ability.

Our missionary's remark deserves thoughtful consideration. But if we do begin to think about it, and to cite cases, we are immediately confronted with the problem of what we mean by "respect." I walked into a church of the same mission. Except for the use of the local language in the singing, preaching, and Scripture reading, what evidences of respect for local culture were there there? I found none whatsoever. I did not know the language and could not understand the sermon, but the implication of the form of service was that there was nothing in the local culture worthy of its incorporation in a Christian service.

I talked with some members of the mission concerning dialects of the national language. These dialects were spoken by large percentages of the population of the country, but not by upper-class and educated people. Some missionaries showed respect for these speech differences. Others did not and felt that any use of them in the program of evangelization was a waste of time.

In contrast with this there were missionaries of other missions who concentrated on the use of the "substandard" dialects, showing a much higher degree of respect for them as

media of communication with the masses of people. And whereas the first mission often showed a laudable respect for the virtues in the theological system of the religion of the country, the second group paid it little attention but showed high respect for the individual common man and his needs.

By saying this, I do not mean to imply that these attitudes are mutually exclusive in any individual or in any mission group. But they are obvious emphases, patterns of work and attitude, which reflect important differences in the values of the missionary.

Not only do we see such contrasts between missions in the same area, but we see them between the missionary traditions in various areas. Missionaries in Southeazt Asia tend to learn their local languages well, while the missionaries in West Africa tend not to. On the other hand, missionaries in Africa tend to have greater respect for and use of dialect differences than do missionaries in China.

The Self-centered View of Culture

Ethnocentrism is the term used by anthropologists to represent that point of view which we all have to varying degrees, that our own culture, our own way of doing things, is best. It may lead us to assume that our own way is the only right way. It ranges from the repugnance my wife and I felt when our Khmu houseboy ate a rat we caught in a trap to the uncontrollable laughter that struck a Khmu friend when my wife cried because our pet dog died. I heard ethnocentrism in a prayer recently, when a pastor thanked God that we were privileged to live in a culture so well suited to a Christian way of life. Every missionary, no matter how keenly developed his Christology, finds some of his motivation in his ethnocentrism, and it is a major motivation in our present ideological struggle with Russia.

What we select to be ethnocentric about may vary from person to person. It certainly varies from culture to culture. It undoubtedly is somewhat different from mission to mission. I asked a missionary in Africa once if chewing Kola nut was a

sin, and she replied with a twinkle in her eye that it depended on the mission station. This should not be read to imply that Christians should not make value judgments. Every human being does make them, whether he wants to or not, and every Christian is morally obligated to do so. The problem lies in the unthinking ethnocentricity of those judgments. It lies also in our imposition of our judgments on other people.

Ethnocentrism of "Respect"

A proper basis for value judgments is not the subject of this editorial, however, It is simply that we recognize the ethnocentricity of even our "respect" for other peoples. We tend to respect what we like, or learn to like. If we come from a background of advanced education, of emphasis on "correctness" in our language, and on good breeding in our conduct, we tend to respect the high language and upper-class characteristics of another civilization. If we come from a lower stratum of American society, we tend to be more at home with more humble folk in a foreign culture. If we have been trained to a point of view which sees language primarily as an art, we tend to shun the less arty, less literary forms of the language which we learn in another culture. If we see language primarily as a medium of communication, however, we would rather shift our language medium depending on our audience. If liturgy and art are important to us, liturgy and art we single out to enjoy in another country. If we prefer the relaxed informality of ordinary individuals, we seek them out.

Certain things which we can select to be ethnocentric about are much more detrimental to the church than others, of course. Linguistic ethnocentrism is disastrous, but so is the ethnocentrism of Methodist, or Lutheran, or Presbyterian, or Pentecostal ritual. And so also can be the forms of education and medicine and agriculture which we employ.

Full cultural objectivity is impossible, but an awareness of the vagaries of our selective ethnocentrism is very helpful. One of the most wholesomely "respectful" of missionaries whom I ever met was a man who worked himself from dawn until bedtime with a discipline and application that very few Ameri-

cans can match. He confessed that one thing he could never get used to was the African's idea of a day's work. Contrast this reluctant admission which acknowledged an awareness of ethnocentrism with the attitude of another missionary whose every conversation is punctuated with complaints of the "laziness" of people around him.

Without respect, without clear-eyed love, that identification which is essential for the missionary will never be achieved. But before we fall into the temptation of congratulating outselves on the features which we have selected from the culture to respect, let us take stock of our attitude toward other things as well. Does our work really reflect respect for people of all classes, for the various sub-cultures of the community, for the church? Do we respect the church by "allowing" it to run "independently" the way we taught it to run; or do we respect it by watching it work out its own new society within the matrix of its daily life?

Ethnocentrism will always be with us. The value of an anthropological point of view, which sees customs and institutions in the light of the way they are worked out in many societies, is that it helps us to be aware of our ethnocentrism and to soften it. In a sense, the cross-cultural view which comes through the study of many peoples is an important aid in understanding the relationship between the cultural speck in our brother's eye, as opposed to the log in our own.

W.A.S.

NOTES AND NEWS

Religious Acculturation Conference

A "Religious Acculturation Conference" was held in Baguio, Philippines, early this year. Mr. Laurence L. Wilson, who organized it, writes that it was a success. It was attended by various groups from all over the Philippines.

Learn That Word! (cont.)

Kinship, and expressions with related areas of meaning, like extended family and clan, are very valuable for talking about relationships between peoples in many parts of the world. The importance lies not in the fact that certain people are biologically related to other people, but in the fact that different cultures manifest strikingly different ways of organizing basic biological relationships, as well as of elaborating them beyond what the genetic facts are. In many societies, for example, a man will address the children of his father's brother, or of his mother's sister, as "brother" or "sister," using the same kinship term for them that he uses for his "own" (in the Western sense) brother and sister. The same term may also apply to much more distant relatives as defined in the culture. However, the children of his father's sister or his mother's brother he does not call "brother" or "sister," but a different term. Thus he lumps some of his "cousins" (in the Western sense) with his brothers and sisters, and others he does not. This fact of kinship vocabulary takes on real significance in the behavior of many societies, when a man cannot marry anyone whom he calls "sister," but a marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother is highly desirable. It is therefore incest for him to marry certain "cousins" but highly desirable to marry others.

A clan is a special kind of kinship arrangement in which membership is inherited through one parent. Which parent depends on the particular local pattern. Often clans have names. Often they are thought of as being related to or having descended from an animal, from which they take their name. Sometimes the relationship is more a fictional one than a biological one, but it is thought of in terms of kinship. Usually members of the same clan cannot marry. The actual remoteness of their blood ties has nothing to do with it.

An extended family is a series of close relatives most familiar to readers of Practical Anthropology in the patriarchs of the Old Testament, perhaps. Jacob, with his wives, his sons and their wives and children, all living in close economic and social cooperation, is an example. However, the

extended family may just as well be reckoned through the mother (if that is the line of descent followed in the culture). It then consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands and children, etc.

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William L. Wonderly

Pagan and Christian Concepts in a Mexican Indian Culture

The capacity of many societies to take some of the formal aspects of Christianity without understanding its meaning has disturbed many a missionary as he has watched what seemed to him to be an unholy mixture of pagan and Christian practices develop, or has found it already fully established. In this article Dr. Wonderly discusses some aspects of this problem in relation to Mexican Indian life, and comes to the conclusion that any profund teaching of Christian ethics can be done satisfactorily only through the life of a community of believers, through the application of principles to specific situations in the cultural milieu. The illustrations are derived from Mexico, and have to do with Catholic contact with Aztec life, but the problem is a universal one in the spread of the gospel.

In communicating the meaning of the gospel message to Indians of Mexico and Central America, one encounters many factors that are different from those which are found in communicating the same message to city dwellers or even to rural people in general. How shall we speak of one God to people who still retain many of the polytheistic beliefs of pre-conquest times? How shall we preach repentance and pardon for sins to persons whose ideas of morality are centered around outward prohibitions such as the Aztec religion had, and have nothing to do with inward attitudes? How may we get a man to stop mistreating his wife, if he believes that by beating her he is helping her to suffer less in the hereafter? What aspects of the gospel are most directly relevant for those who think of God as one who neither loves nor expects His creatures to love? These and many other questions come to mind as we consider the religious concepts of our Indian groups. Although we cannot give a definitive answer to all of these questions, it is hoped that the present review article may be suggestive of ways whereby some of these problems can be approached.

This article is, for the most part, a review of the recent publication entitled *Christo-Paganism: A Study of Mexican Religious Syncretism,* by William Madsen.[1] Madsen has attempted an objective study of the present-day religious concepts of a Mexican Indian village

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[1] New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1957. Preprinted from Publication 19, pages 105-180. $1.50.

against an historical background of Aztec religion and of the content of the message preached by the early Roman Catholic missionaries. Thus it is a publication that is important for anyone interested in working among Indians, especially in Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America. Although pre-Columbian religious patterns were by no means identical in all areas, different Indian groups have enough in common both in the pre-conquest background and in the post-conquest Catholic developments to make Madsen's study widely relevant.

The thesis presented in that the present-day religion of Tecospa, an Aztec village in the Federal District, is the outgrowth of a tendency toward syncretism which can be seen in pre-conquest contacts of the Aztecs with the religions of other Indian tribes and which since the conquest has continued to the point where the result had best be called *Christo-Paganism,* or "the integration of Christian and pagan religions in pagan configurations." With regard to the process of religious acculturation, his study leads him to the conclusion that "the form of an innovation is accepted more readily than its meaning and . . . that the process of acceptance is affected by the communicability, utility, and compatibility of the change with established custom" (p. 172).

Chapter two, "Aztec religious patterns," outlines Aztec supernaturalism at the time of the Spanish conquest under four heads: World view, Concept of supernaturals, Ethics, and Worship. Chapter three, "Patterns of sixteenth-century Christianity," attempts to reconstruct from historical sources the message given by the early Spanish missionaries, using the same four heads as in chapter two. These same heads then form the general framework for the more extensive description of the contemporary religion of Tecospa. In this review we shall comment on certain aspects of this description, with special note of some factors which in the reviewer's opinion have obvious and immediate relevance for the presentation of the Christian message today to Indians whom Madsen classifies as Christo-Pagan.

World View

Present-day Tecospa religion "acknowledges the Christian God as the creator deity but still retains the Aztec concept of multiple creations and destructions of the world" (p. 143). The Christian God has become a destroyer as well as a creator; and both God and the Virgin of Guadalupe (whom the people call by the name of the Aztec goddess Tonantzin, who existed before the creation of mankind) are "integrated . . . into the Aztec concept of a universe ordered by the opposition of male and female deities" (p. 174). The Aztec philosophy of fatalism persists, "but today a man's destiny in the universe is decided at birth by a battle between God and the Devil [which] takes place in the flames of a fire built in the room where a birth occurs" (pp. 145-146).

Concepts of heaven and hell have many points in common with ancient beliefs of the different abodes of the dead. As in the ancient Aztec religion, a person's condition in the future life is determined in many situations by the manner of his death; for example, men who die in battle and women who die in childbirth are believed to go to heaven regardless of their sins. Twins and persons who die by violence go to hell, as do murderers, prostitutes, men who beat their wives excessively and without good cause, etc.

(But it is expected that a good husband will beat his wife some, so that she will not have to suffer in the afterworld.)

Supernatural Beings

"The God of Tecospa is not a god of love but an enemy of mankind who wants to destroy the human beings whom he created. He is feared . . . also because he sends famine, pestilence, and earthquakes, as the major Aztec deities did before him. . . . The Indians do not pray to God because He is too hostile to answer their prayers but they do petition the Christ of Chalma and other Christs for health and prosperity" (p. 152). Various virgins and other saints are included in the pantheon, many of them carrying over certain of the attributes of specific Aztec deities. Christian monotheism was never accepted by the Indians; the position of God became analogous to the pre-conquest creator-god Tloque Nahuaque, whose importance in the popular religion was relatively small. Devils called *pingos* are the most important evil personages; their chief is analogous to, but not identical with, the Christian concept of Satan. Other important supernatural beings are the rain dwarfs, who not only produce rain but cause certain sicknesses.

An important feature of Aztec religion was the belief in a mutual-dependency relationship between gods and mortals, in which the deities had to be nourished with human blood and hearts so that they would survive and provide for the welfare of men. The fact that abolition of human sacrifice did not put an end to sun, rain, and crops has led to abandonment of the belief that the gods needed human blood for their survival. Madsen says that "today Catholic saints depend on the Indians of Tecospa only for fiesta entertainment" (p. 173). However, the present reviewer wonders whether, at least in those Indian areas where sacrifices of animal blood are still practiced, there is not a greater survival of the mutual-dependency belief than Madsen has indicated for Tecospa.

Worship

Activities of worship largely center around four major religious fiestas of the Catholic calendar. Part of the Candlemas (Feb. 2) ceremonies includes the blessing by the priest of the baskets of seed which the people will plant during the year, and of candles for use in the hour of death. San Francisco, the patron saint, is honored on Oct. 4; he is part of the pantheon of nature gods, and cooperates with the rain dwarfs in bringing rain. Nov. 1-3 celebrates the return of the dead, and is one of the most important religious festivals in the area. Madsen associates the Indians' fascination with death and its symbols (including the crucifix, which to them symbolizes death, not the Savior) with both Aztec background and Spanish Catholicism. The fourth major fiesta is the series of *posadas* in December culminating in the celebration on Christmas Eve.

Ethics

"Christo-Pagan ethics in Tecospa are virtually the same as Aztec ethics except that today man's primary obligations are to Catholic saints instead of to pagan gods" (p. 170). God, who does not love, is not loved; nor is man under obligation to love his fellow-man. The Aztec code of ethics forbade murder, theft, adultery, and disrespect for the gods; it obliged men and women to provide for their families and rear their children properly; but the emphasis was upon proper behavior rather than upon right thoughts and motives. These features have carried

over to the present time. "Meekness, righteousness, and purity of heart are not virtues. Showing mercy to an enemy is a sign of weakness and cowardice" (p. 170). These virtues were absent from the Aztec code and were never adopted in the later religious system.

Communication of Religious Concepts

Madsen concludes that the Christian concepts that were accepted by the Indians were chiefly limited to (1) those which were similar to or compatible with the established beliefs, (2) those which were readily communicable, (3) those arising from practices which were enforceable, and (4) those which were considered useful in terms of Aztec culture. Catholic baptism, confession, fiestas, dances, use of images, and prohibitions against murder, theft and adultery come under the first of these categories. Christian concepts of heaven, hell and the Devil were communicable, at least to a degree, because of Aztec beliefs that paralleled them and the somewhat concrete language that can be used in teaching these; but many important concepts relating to these were never communicated. Catholic ritual was enforceable. But the concept of monotheism was incompatible with Aztec polytheism; the Christian view of sin was "too abstract to be thoroughly communicated" (p. 173); and the Aztec philosophy of fatalism was incompatible with the Christian doctrine of personal moral responsibility.

One may wish to question, however, whether the truth of the matter lies in the mere incompatibility of certain concepts or even in the actual incommunicability of certain abstract ideas, since in other situations these same concepts have been and are being communicated to non-Christian peoples, including Indians such as the Chol and Tzeltal, whom Madsen would classify as Christo-Pagan. The answer is probably to be sought in a combination of these factors with the way in which the message was presented by the early missionaries—a subject which would merit a more thorough study than Madsen gives it. This reviewer's impression is that the concept which the early Catholic missionaries (at least apart from such men as Fray Bartolomé de las Casas) had of the church and of their own responsibilities was one that led most of them to lay more emphasis upon those aspects of Christianity which would permit the crown and the church to exercise political and ecclesiastical control than upon the discovery of ways to communicate the living message to individuals and to communities. This is of course borne out in subsequent developments in the Catholic church and in its present-day emphasis upon maintaining the loyalty and outward conduct of its adherents more than upon promoting their spiritual growth and enlightenment. Without attempting here to evaluate the general validity of the hypothesis that "the form of an innovation is accepted more readily than its meaning" (p. 172), it should be pointed out that if the missionaries emphasized the form of a religious element more than its meaning the result could be attributed as much to the approach used as to the inherent capacities for acceptance on the part of the culture. Many of the adaptations made to the Indian culture by the Catholic church were no doubt legitimate and commendable in themselves, had they but been followed up by a positive attempt to communicate the inner content of the gospel message. This type of communication is our chief concern in evangelical missions today, but it is an

area in which the parallels with Spanish colonial history are unfortunately not very close.

Points of Relevance

Several of the features in Madsen's description indicate, points at which certain aspects of the gospel can and should be emphasized in order to make the message relevant to the religious background of the people. The reviewer has noticed on different occasions the emphasis that new evangelical believers with Indian background place upon the love of God; this emphasis is particularly understandable and fitting in situations such as that described for Tecospa. Whatever carry-over there may be of ideas of mutual dependency between gods and men points to the importance of emphasizing the fact that God's love for man is not because he has need of man, but is a disinterested love. God's sovereignty and consequent uniqueness need to be emphasized in a way that will develop a monotheistic concept and teach man's responsibility before his Creator (as opposed to the present concept of fatalistic irresponsibility in the hands of mutually competing supernatural beings).

Teaching of Christian ethics may find its initial point of contact in the standards of overt behavior handed down from pre-conquest times; but even as Jesus laid emphasis upon the inner meaning of the law, it will be necessary to teach the deeper meaning of sin and of righteousness and holiness — in other words, if the real meaning of Christianity is to be conveyed, it is imperative to communicate precisely those ethical concepts which Madsen suggests were too abstract for effective communication. This can be done satisfactorily only as there develops, in the Indian community, a corporate witness —a church made up of men and women in whom there become embodied these ethical principles, not as abstract concepts but as basic attitudes which influence their behavior in concrete situations. To this end, the communication of these concepts will probably best be accomplished not so much by the teaching of abstract principles as by the Biblical method of showing how these principles apply to specific situations.

At the same time, for Indian concepts or practices that are considered incompatible with the gospel message, it is important to provide the background information necessary to bring about a change, and where possible to discover some functional substitute for the objectionable feature. For example, if a Tecospa husband is to be exhorted to quit beating his wife, he must be made to understand that her future welfare depends on factors other than the amount of corporal punishment he gives her in this life. And if the current practice of blessing the baskets of seed corn at the Candlemas ceremonies is not to be encouraged, then there must be found some way in keeping with evangelical Christianity in which the blessing of God may be asked upon the year's planting. This is especially important in view of the intimate relation that exists, in the Indian culture, between maize and many other aspects of life both material and spiritual, and of the anxieties that are always present with respect to planting and the obtaining of the crop for each year's sustenance.

Bible story materials, as well as other Christian literature and teaching materials, should be selected with these factors in mind, and should be prepared in a way that will be relevant not only to

the universal spiritual need of man but to the specific beliefs and practices of the Indian group.

Further Investigation Needed

Madsen's survey is an important contribution. It should now be supplemented by a further study, in the same culture area if possible, of the patterns which emerge when protestant Christianity is accepted by a substantial group of people in a community describable in Madsen's terms as Christo-Pagan.[2] A study of this type would include, among other things, the following: (1) an analysis of the protestant work with reference to its approach to the social groupings in the community, and which of the social groups have been affected and used for further communication of the new ideas within the community; (2) an investigation of the content of the message and the elements of the same that have been emphasized in the specific situation under study; (3) observation of the way in which this message is received and in turn communicated by the members of the culture themselves; (4) a study of the degree to which concepts that were not successfully communicated by the sixteenth-century missionaries are being communicated to Indians in the present-day situation; (5) an investigation of any recent adaptations of Christian concepts and practices which provide functional substitutes for cultural elements found incompatible with evangelical Christianity. In order to avoid, in as far as possible, facile conclusions based on new and untried developments, such a study should take into account the religious attitudes and concepts both of persons who have been converted directly from their traditional religion and of the younger generation who have not known the earlier religion of their parents. One of the acid tests of a community's effective acceptance of protestant Christianity is, of course, its transmission of the new concepts to the younger generation, and whether or not the latter, with their increasing opportunity for contacts with the secularist civilization of the twentieth century, bring Christian concepts to bear upon their own way of life.

[2] The nearest approach to such a study which has come to my attention is that contained in Robert Redfield, *A Village that Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950; 187 pp.). Redfield discusses at length the factors involved in the growth and decline of protestantism in a Maya village over a period of nearly two decades. If, in addition to the material he presents, he had obtained data direct from the missionaries as to the content and emphases of their message and the form in which it was presented to the people, his valuable study would have been still more useful from the standpoint of illuminating the problems of communication and of acceptance, rejection, or modification of new religious elements in the present-day situation.

Dale W. Kietzman

Conversion and Culture Change

In his analysis of the process of culture change, Mr. Kietzman reduces the problem basically to a series of interactions of various kinds between individuals. These individuals represent the local culture, and the West (in the case of the missionary) in their ways of behaving. The interaction is not only between the two different cultural groups, but also within them, among individuals with varying predispositions, backgrounds, and points of view. The agents of conversion are the Holy Spirit and the Word of God. These also bring about culture change by working through individuals to whom they have spoken.

THE application of the science of anthropology to the cultural problems involved in missionary activity has yet to be precisely defined. Many practical applications have been reported on the pages of PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, and an occasional attempt has also been made to discuss its essential usefulness in relation to basic missionary principles.[1] But there seems to be no unanimity of opinion on this point on the part of either Christian anthropologists or missionaries.

To some, anthropology has its major usefulness in permitting the missionary to understand more completely the motives of the people with whom he works. Others add to this the thought of successful communication of the Gospel message. There are many who favor a policy of "action" with regard to cultural forces which must be "molded" or "disciplined" to fit more exactly their concept of "Christian morality." Opposing the latter view are those who assert that our knowledge of cultures given us no right to institute or further any cultural modifications, however desirable they may seem.

Which of these (or other) viewpoints is correct? A definitive answer to this question would be important both for current missionary work and for the training of new missionaries. It is the purpose of this paper to seek a simple answer to this problem from among the complexities of the mission field of today.

Two Basic Factors in Missions

The factors which confuse our view of mission field problems are not primarily those of differing cultures and widely divergent religious systems. It is

[1] As for instance, the three-point statement of missionary aims given by Barney, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 4, pp. 48-49.

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not to be denied that these features demand modifications in our approach and methods, but these should be changes only in detail of application, not in basic principle. Rather, the complexity originates in two factors: the history of missionary work on a given field, and the variation in approximation of indigenous groups to Westernized "Christian" culture.

With regard to the missionary effort on a field, the determining factor of difference is best stated in terms of the relative degree of success with which cultural problems have been met. Some fields represent very old works which have been crowned with good success, as demonstrated by the deep spiritual understanding and judgment of the Christians, particularly toward their own conduct and witness in the society. Other fields, equally old, display results only in terms of overt cultural changes or statistical factors, with little evidence of real understanding or permanence of decision in the hearts of the people. Then there are newer fields. On one there is remarkable success, with many conversions; on others consecrated missionaries have worked unsuccessfully toward the establishment of a vital witness within the society.

The approximation of the native culture to our civilization is noted because it largely determines the ease with which our purposes and our presentation of the Gospel may be understood. It also affects, both in quantity and in kind, the cultural changes which may result from missionary activity. The degree and ease of approximation is, in turn, determined by such factors as the size and homogeneity of the native population and the nature of and reaction to cultural contacts in which it has participated. There are groups like the Terena of southern Mato Grosso in Brazil, who display a real drive toward the achievement of equality with, and eventual integration into, the neo-Brazilian population that surrounds them. Surely here a missionary would be justified in helping to prepare these people for what seems to be the only possible solution for their future. But there are other, usually larger groups, which, although they may have the same degree of contact with Western civilization, may nevertheless preserve their ethnic and cultural identities for generations to come. In contrast to these are the very small groups, some tending toward extinction, some already caught in the cross-currents of Westernization, some untouched cultural islands.

We may restate these two factors as being our presentation of the Gospel and the resistance of the native culture to it. These are the essential features also of the problem of the indigenous church, which is the presumed goal for most missionary activity today. We normally think of our particular presentation of Christianity as being placed in direct opposition to specific features of the pagan culture. The success of our program will be demonstrated by the establishment of a church, ideally a self-maintaining institution which will remain in permanent and visible contrast to the institutions of the pagan religion and culture. The problem of initiating such an indigenous church has been stated as that of making our message relevant to, or in, the culture; then, of transforming the culture, insofar as the Christian community is concerned, so that the church can maintain a suitable standard of Christian morality, and thus a witness to the non-Christians of the society.

The Individual

This particular presentation of the problem is a completely impersonal one. It represents the conflict as between two systems or institutions, each presupposing a way of life that is intrinsically antagonistic to the other. This consequently divides the society into two opposing groups, each with its own standards of conduct and, in a real sense, its own culture.

But this viewpoint completely ignores one important factor. That is the individuality of the bearer of the culture and of the believer in the church. We need not elaborate on the fact that the conversion of a Christian is a completely individual decision, and that he assumes, through the new birth, a personal relationship with God, his Father. The reality of the church institution can never be permitted to obscure this essentially individual character of Christian responsibility.

In the same way, while we speak of cultures and corresponding societies, we must not lose sight of the fact that individuals are bearers of the culture. They individually and deliberately may choose between alternatives of conduct or decide to depart from traditional ways. True, most individuals never examine critically their reasons for action, and even when they do, they probably seldom undergo a crisis experience equal to conversion. Yet this does not nullify the individuality and personality of the bearer of the culture. Thus, just as the spiritual vitality of an indigenous church is determined by the depth of personal experience of its members, so the validity of a cultural item is determined by the acceptance or lack of acceptance accorded it by the individual members of the society.

Interactions Between Individuals

We can now reduce the problem of the mission field to a series of interactions between individuals, some of one culture and some of another. The first such interaction is between the missionary, a representative of one culture but with a standard of obedience that is not entirely bound by that culture, and individuals of another culture whose standard of obedience is culturally determined. The missionary hopes that this interaction will result in the conversion of the pagan. The anthropological problem involved is that of communicating the Gospel, but in such a way that it is comprehensible entirely within the thought patterns and other bounds imposed by the pagan culture.

The next type of interaction observable in missionary activity brings together these same individuals, and they are still within their original cultural groupings. This time, however, the missionary is attempting to "perfect" the new believer, or to help him to become mature in his Christian faith. This he does by imparting to his convert the same standard of obedience that he himself follows. The anthropological problem involved is that of encouraging this growth through teaching that is based neither on the culture of the convert nor on the culture of the teacher, because this standard does not spring from either culture. "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God."[2] It is the mind of the convert, and not his culture, that is here transformed.

The third instance of personal interaction does not include the foreign mis-

[2] Romans 12: 2.

sionary and is basically apart from his activity. It is the interaction of the transformed Christian and a non-Christian of the same society. Both are bearers of the same culture, but they now have divergent lines of obedience and, therefore, may make different choices of conduct within the culture. The convert has matured, as one of those who "by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."[3] It is precisely his wisdom of choice of the ethical "good" within his own culture that constitutes his witness to the non-Christian. The choice of a foreign pattern of conduct could never represent such a culturally pertinent testimony.

This is the stage at which cultural change will occur as the result of the acceptance of the Gospel. But initially, barring outside pressures, it will be in terms of a change in the frequency of choice of a particular behavior pattern — generally a choice that was already possible within the culture. The anthropological problem for the missionary is one of nullifying effectively the cultural influence of his own physical presence on the scene of such an event. The change must come as the result of a discipleship of obedience to God on the part of the native Christian, and not as the result of any obedience or allegiance to the missionary as such.[4]

This series of personal interactions, while sketchy, serves to define the role of anthropology on the mission field. This role can be stated in a twofold principle:[5] (1) to make it possible to communicate adequately the complete Gospel message across cultural barriers; and (2) to prevent the missionary's cultural background[6] and interpretations of Christianity from affecting the development of the native Christian pattern of obedience to God within the aboriginal culture.[7]

Culture Changes

This presentation of the problem of the mission field leaves a number of areas on which further discussion is required. Foremost of these is the question as to whether we can be sure that an obviously needed change in the conduct of new Christians will come about without the direct or indirect guidance and leadership of the missionary. The answer to this needs to be sought in two directions, first that of the normal processes of change within a culture, and then of the peculiar power which is at the disposal of the native Christian as he continues to live within his society.

Several aspects of culture change have importance for us. We need to realize that, in any culture, there are frequent alternative patterns of conduct, of many of which we are completely unaware.

[3] Hebrews 5: 14.

[4] Note the comment of Fredrickson, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 4, p. 221: "If by the skilled use of natural group pressures the missionary-teacher obtains conformity from the disciple-student, the missionary-teacher is guilty of substituting an arbitrary law of a religious culture for the law of God, and thus he has replaced God with an idol."

[5] I consider this to be a positive and a negative statement of the same proposition.

[6] Here "our cultural background" can be taken to include academically learned alternatives of behavior, which we many not practise but which we may be tempted to introduce into a third culture. They are just as foreign in that culture as they are in ours.

[7] I have used terms which may seem to limit these comments to the so-called primitive mission fields. That is not the intention. I believe these same principles apply to the "native" Christian in America who must make his witness to the "pagans" around him in terms of the "aboriginal" culture.

Except as the result of intensive and perceptive study, we do not observe more than the grosser patterns of conduct, those practised by the majority. The percentage of deviations from the norm will be small, and furthermore these deviations are apt to be shielded from the view of the outsider, either deliberately, or simply because "rebels" do not represent the leadership of the tribe which is in the van of contact with the outside world. It is also possible that these differing patterns of conduct are not practised at all at the present time, but are remembered and honored only through the historical influence of the folklore. Such a native pattern of conduct, if compatible with Christian life and witness, would obviously be more meaningful to Christian and non-Christian alike, than would a completely foreign item. It is the native Christian, and not the missionary, who is in a position to know of this possibility and to make the decision to utilize it.

Along this same line we should mention the fact that such minor patterns of conduct are not infrequently widely recognized as "good," even though the majority of the people do otherwise, with perhaps no sense of "badness" about their actual conduct. Barney, for example, cities the fact that among the Meo of Laos there was a "conscience" within the pre-contact culture which presented a "better" norm of conduct than that usually followed with regard to trial marriage and the use of opium. It was precisely these things which the native Christians first spontaneously "changed," although in reality they were only actualizing a standard at least partially existing within their own culture.[8]

[8] Barney, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 4, pp. 33, 39, 40.

Another feature which we often overlook is that cultures are in a constant process of change, both as a result of internal pressures difficult to analyze, and as a result of pressures from without. This means that there are many facets of a culture which, at any given moment, are either in the process of change or on the verge of an overt change. Even after the introduction of Christianity, Christianity is not the only force at work causing or shaping culture change. In fact it probably results in a good deal less disturbance than many of the "civilizing" features which often accompany its introduction. In all such situations of change, regardless of the cause, there are natural forces at work which, if given time, will adequately shape and stabilize the modified culture. For our purposes, we need to analyze accurately the pressures both toward change and toward stabilization, so that we can be sure which changes are really the result of the introduction of Christianity, which are incidentally shaped by it, and which have no vital connection whatever.

Change Resulting from Conversion

Then we need to recognize what are the true agents, or motivating forces, of such changes as do result from conversion. These I would limit to the Holy Spirit and the written Word of God. Whether these forces are to be permitted to operate in freedom and fulness is, in a real sense, within the control of the missionary. The arena in which they can work is the heart and mind of the native Christian. As a product of his society, he is acutely aware of the drives and pressures of the culture. As a born-again child of God, he becomes also the temple of the Holy Spirit. If the written Word of God is available to him, we

have brought these forces which determine behavior into their natural area of interaction, counteracting as effectively as we can the second culture problem present in the missionary, and leaving the message with the irreducible minimum of cultural problems inherent in the Bible itself. We can be certain that there are present all the necessary potentialities for the right kind of cultural change. To answer the question, then, of whether desired cultural change can be brought about without the action of the missionary, we have suggested both the power of the Holy Spirit to change cultures when allowed to do so, and the power of any culture free from external and contradictory pressures to accommodate such change.

It could be objected that following this policy presents the possibility that, by ineptness or an overabundance of zeal, the native Christian may somehow disrupt his own culture and cause irremediable damage. Again we need to emphasize that the living force of Christianity will not destroy a culture.[9] Christianity brings, rather, a reexamination of religious tenets and related institutions, which causes, not destruction, but new life to be brought to each item thus examined. It would be a dead faith indeed that could not bring life, even on a cultural level.

Now such reexaminations, by native Christians, of culturally determined beliefs will take time. It may be that change will proceed too slowly to suit the observer, then appear to spurt far beyond any practical limits, considering the result to be obtained. Or it may take a most unusual, and to our eyes, "unchristian" turn. But as Buchwalter very pointedly observes, "this has also forced me to accept as of the Spirit of God, Scripture interpretations which in some respects differ from my own"; and "if we really believe we should be founders of indigenous churches, we dare not entertain any illusions as to the form they will take."[10] These same facts are emphasized by anthropologists who speak in general terms of culture change, apart from the specific problems associated with the introduction of Christianity.[11]

The Presence of the Missionary

This brings us then to the problem of the physical presence of the missionary on the field while these changes are taking place. Will he not be regarded as an example for believers, and, actually, should he not be so regarded? Will he not be consulted on these problems? How can he avoid the responsibility of teaching that which he knows is applicable to the moral problems being worked out? Again we need to approach these questions from various angles.

The really serious problem here is that the missionary is seldom aware of the many ways in which he is affecting native life, completely apart from so-called "missionary" work. His very presence as a foreigner, even though living in modified Western style, can at times have a greater disruptive effect than his preach-

[9] Note the contentions of Reyburn, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 4, p. 166; and Barney, pp. 49-50.

[10] Buchwalter, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 3, pp. 94, 102.

[11] As for instance A. P. Elkins, in *Social Anthropology in Melanesia*, Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p. 148: "The new objects . . . moral standards and religious beliefs must be introduced through native authority and acceptance, so that natives themselves can work out the consequent changes or cultural and social adjustments. They alone can do this, and it takes time, experience, and experiment."

ing of the Gospel. Even where we may, to outward appearances, adapt ourselves to native patterns, our subconscious habits and our attitudes and questions, betray our "otherness."[12] We may be accepted, but the native population has had to make a conscious adjustment to accommodate us. Thus our problem is greater if we are concerned with not being an example in non-essentials, than if we want to be an example toward some particular item of moral practice.[13]

On the other hand, the missionary may feel that he can overcome this barrier and present a true witness within another culture, by following a participative role in that culture. In may ways there is greater danger along this line of reasoning than in frankly realizing that the matter of culture change is outside the scope of the missionary task.

The question could be put, "How indigenous can the missionary become?" The missionary's participative role is always limited. It is impossible for him to cut loose completely from his own cultural moorings and adopt wholesale those of another people, submerging himself completely in the moral orientations of a different culture.[14] As long as the missionary remains, in any respect, a foreign element, it is not within his power to demonstrate by his life how the practices of a native culture are to be "transvaluated." This is the job of the native Christian. We are and will remain different, and the problem is to make our message, and not ourselves, culturally relevant.[15]

The correct understanding of the missionary's role in molding Christian conduct is of extreme importance in laying the foundation for an effective and continuing witness within a culture. Our most important witness will always be the Word of God in the language of the people. But there must also be a witness that is within the specific framework of the culture. If that witness is

[12] One of the most disturbing of these "foreign" attitudes, which can have a profund effect on native peoples, is strikingly phrased in the article by Taylor, reprinted in PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 3, pp. 116-117: "It is surprizing how many white people ... imagine that an educated African should be a replica of themselves. It is far more tragic when Africans come to share this view. ... The source of much of the desperate frustration of Africa is a fundamental lack of faith in the contribution of the coloured people, not only on the part of the white folk, but among the Africans themselves. The fantastical technical success of modern Western man seems to so dazzle the eyes of blacks and whites alike that the European easily assumes a similar superiority in all other spheres of life, and the African, bedeviled with self-mistrust, seeks only to play a resentful second fiddle to the white man's tune."

[13] We do not refer to the social service type program which many missions carry on. While these missions may find their motivation in Christian love, or in the more pragmatic view that these programs are the means of attracting people to the spiritual purposes of the missionary, these same programs nevertheless can be, and are, carried on effectively by agencies of a-religious governments. We have in view the conscious spiritual and moral objectives of the missionaries. Only as these other programs may affect the moral judgments of native Christians are they in question here.

[14] Note particularly the argument of G. A. deLaguna in "Cultural Relativism and Science," *Philosophical Review*, Vol. LI, 1942, pp. 141-66, in which she approaches the problem from a philosophical viewpoint and demonstrates that a theoretical relativism involving an exchange of cultural standards is impossible.

[15] This is not to deny the effectiveness of participation as an anthropological technique for winning the confidence of the people and for giving unusual insights into their thought patterns. The reference here is to participation with the expectation that it will be possible to demonstrate Christian values of conduct to those of another culture.

to be basically one of conduct, then the conduct must be such that it is understandable to everyone who is within the culture. This cannot be established by the example of a foreign missionary or by the introduction of foreign elements. To be effective it must come from within, it must be an indigenous reinterpretation of cultural values.

This is not a *laissez-faire* outlook upon the missionary's role in culture change. It is a practical realization of our deficiencies and of the power of the Holy Spirit to revitalize and "cleanse" a culture through the agency of native Christians. It still requires the careful training of missionaries in the problems of culture in order that they may adequately meet this extremely delicate problem on the field.

Gaining Rapport Quickly[1]

When I was doing field work in Micronesia, my schedule allowed me only a short stay on any one island before I had to move on to the next island; this sometimes gave me only a day at any one place, and seldom more than two months. I often visited the same places several times and worked with the same informants for a total of three or four months in the course of time, but in the beginning I had to gain rapport with the islanders as quickly as possible, for I might sail again with the tide.

My tape recorder was one of the best means for establishing rapport quickly. When I was on island A and had to go to island B, which I had never visited before, I would ask if anyone on A had friends or family on B. There was always someone, perhaps even people who were from B themselves. I would tell them I was going to B, and ask if I could take any messages for them in their own voices on my tape recorder. This was always a welcome offer, and their messages, plus their answers to some discreet questions, established whether they were *personae gratae* on B.

After I arrived on B and had introduced myself and sat around for a while, I would ask if Safogap were around because I had a message for him from his brother Upuri on A. When I had played it for him, he invariably made me play it over again to larger and larger audiences, weeping and laughing to hear the voice of dear old Upuri. Within half an hour I had accomplished the first part of my mission.

Alfred G. Smith

[1] From *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 5 (1957), p. 875. Used by permission.

Will Herberg

The Christian Witness in an Emerging "Other-Directed" Culture

The problem of a Christian witness to changing America is the subject of Dr. Herberg's remarks. We are very conscious of the changes in our material life in the United States, but there are far more subtle and significant changes occurring in our ways of evaluating life, men, and events. The motives which drove our founding fathers are not our motives to the same degree. Dr. Herberg does not like some of the trends, and he feels that the Christian witness must come to grips with them. "Preachers are always too prone to preach yesterday's sermon to today's people." Once more the Christian's answer lies in being at once IN *the world, and at the same time* OVER AGAINST *it.*

CAMPUS culture both reflects and shapes the attitudes and values of an increasingly significant segment of American culture. Thirty per cent of all persons of college age now go to college. This percentage is steadily increasing. William A. Whyte in *The Organization Man* maintains that American suburban life and values are largely a continuation of campus values.

Therefore the recent Jacob study of *Changing Values in College*[1] not only points out some very important things about students but also documents with impressive effect American suburban culture. Let's take a look as what this study shows.

First — the over-all conclusion of this study is that American students share a pattern of values and attitudes that are so extraordinarily alike as to give the impression that they "were turned out of a common mold so far as their outlook on life and standards of conduct are concerned."

They are "gloriously contented," . . . "unabashedly self-centered," aspiring for "material gratifications for themselves and their families." . . . They "fully accept the conventions of contemporary society." . . . They value the traditional moral virtues, but "are not inclined to censure those who prefer to depart from these canons." . . . They are "dutifully responsive to the demands of society, but show little interest in public affairs of any kind."

"Student values do change to some extent in college. . . . But the impetus

[1] Philip Jacob, *Changing Values in College*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957.

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in change does not come primarily from the classroom." Rather, values are influenced through the pressures of the college community. The Harvard Student Council report on *Religion at Harvard* (1956) states that "the factor listed most often by students as being influential in shaping their thinking [is the peer group]. . . . Our personal experience supports the idea that the views of our peers powerfully affect our own thinking."

In general, the college experience results in conformity and greater uniformity of values. "There is more homogeneity and consistency of values among students at the end of their four years than when they begin. Fewer seniors espouse beliefs which deviate from the going standards than do freshmen." Students come to college with greater diversity of values than when they leave. "College has a socializing rather than a liberalizing impact on values."

There is a new type of campus leader developing — the "taste leader" of group conformity. "The mark of a student leader usually is his championing of the outlook and values of the community. He is 'like his class, only more so.' "

Religiously, college tends to strengthen the general pro-religiousness of students. The effect is not hostile to religion, contrary to widespread belief. In the Jacob study, 32 per cent said they valued religion more since coming to college in contrast to 16 per cent who said they valued religion less and 52 per cent who reported no change.

However, there is a striking paradox here, and that is the separation of religion from daily life. "Students normally express a need for religion as part of their lives. . . . But there is a 'ghostly' quality about the beliefs and practices of many of them. . . . Their religion does not carry over to guide and govern important decisions in the secular world. Students expect these to be socially determined. God has little to do with the behavior of men in society, if widespread student judgment is accepted."

Decisive Underlying Trend

All of these tendencies point to a far-reaching change in the character structure of the American people, namely the emergence of the "other-directed" character type.[2]

Up to this period the "inner-directed" character structure has been the dominant force in shaping Western culture and American society. The "inner-directed" man is the discoverer, the empire builder, the captain of industry. He operates with a kind of built-in gyroscope which keeps him steadily on his course, driving ahead for the fulfillment of his purposes, whatever they may be. He is guided by "convictions," "principles," and "goals" which have been internalized and which are applied to any new situation which the individual confronts and which determine what he ought to do. Virginia Woolf once wrote about herself, "I have an internal automatic scale of values which decides what I had better do."

The "inner-directed" man is work-conscious. Achievement is what counts. He is individualistic, self-reliant, taking satisfaction in standing over against the environment. He is not afraid of nonconformity. He is prone to moralizing and self-righteousness. He stresses "character" and integrity.

This type of character is being replaced by an emerging "other-directed" character structure. The background for this shift

[2] David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd*. New York: Doubleday and Co, 1955.

is largely socio-economic. Our culture has moved into an economy of plenty, with emphasis upon leisure and consumption. Production drives are being replaced by what some observers call the "marketing personality." The background of the emerging new character structure is complex, but the fact that this change is taking place is amply attested to by many inquiries.

The "other-directed" person feels a deep need for being at one with his environment and his fellows. Instead of having a psychological gyroscope, he is described as operating with a kind of built-in radar apparatus which is ceaselessly at work receiving signals from his peer group and adjusting him to the situation indicated by the signals.

For the "inner-directed" person, departure from his principles carries with it a sense of guilt. For the "other-directed" person, isolation from his fellows carries with it a sense of anxiety.

There is intense discomfort at being unadjusted and a sort of suspicion or dislike of being in a situation of "isolating pre-eminence."

A New York newspaper carried a story of the attempted suicide of two girls, one of whom eventually died. The vice-principal of their high school, when asked about the girl who died, said, "You know, I'm not surprised. Miss —— never was a happy youngster. She was always reading beyond her age level." There was a time when those who read beyond their age level were highly commended for it.

"Other-directedness" appears to be a marked characteristic of much of college group life. Controversy is avoided. Personality is stressed, and "sincerity" is one of the new key words. There are no longer any "angry young men."

The New Character Type and the Religious Situation

This shift from "inner-" to "other-direction" has a double effect religiously. On the one hand is the trend I have already indicated of an increasing desire for religious identification and church affiliation. In part this is a reflection of the growing need for conformity and sociability that "other-direction" brings with it. Religion becomes part of the suburban style of life. Being religious and joining a church become a fundamental way of adjusting and belonging under contemporary American conditions.

On the other hand is the striking fact that there is a growing imperviousness to the basic message of Biblical faith. The "inner-directed" man of the 19th century was often an avowed atheist or an agnostic, hostile to religion, and confident of his self-sufficiency. Yet he had a strong feeling for the prophetic faith of the Bible, for the "dedicated spirit singled out," standing over against the world in uncompromising witness to the truth as he saw it. Even Karl Marx said, "If you have to have a religion, let it be that of the Old Testament prophets."

With the "other-directed" man it is different. He is very friendly to the church and to the idea of religion. But what can he make of the prophetic faith of the Bible? The very notion of being "singled out," of standing "over against" the world, is deeply repugnant to one for whom well-being means conformity and adjustment. The "other-directed" man, no matter how religious he may be, cannot understand an Elijah or an Amos or an Isaiah or a Paul, nor can he conceivably feel an admiration for these zealots of the Lord, who are so terribly "unadjusted."

And so the Biblical faith faces a new

problem and a new challenge. In a hostile world the word of faith may be proclaimed and made into a shattering challenge, but how can it be communicated in a culture that is all for it, but will not, cannot, understand it?

Deeper Anxieties and Stirrings

The Jacob survey, while providing an invaluable profile of our campus culture, nevertheless is incomplete. If this incompleteness is not understood, it may prove seriously misleading. The survey deals with the majority culture of the campus, but there is also a significant minority (20 to 25 per cent).

There are deep-lying conflicts in the "other-directed" pattern of life. This is pointed to in the Jacob study in the phrase "gloriously contented yet restless and dissatisfied." The easy conformity of the "other-directed" man hides deep-lying conflicts and anxieties.

There may be a sense of security in the "togetherness" of the group. But there is at the same time a desperate fear of unadjustedness — of loneliness in the crowd — of not being accepted. This points to an awareness of personal emptiness. Persons have the experience of being pushed into themselves and of finding nothing. In a sense they are "without the law."

While there is a compulsive conformity to the group ethos, there is also an anxious sense of the precariousness and the brittleness of the accepted group value system. There is an ever-present threat of cynicism. This points to the awareness of the moral emptiness which is present.

Both group life and participation in contemporary mass society threaten the deep craving for personal significance. "The fight is for the private life; abstract ideologies are Saharas. It is an impersonal machine age. The fight is to preserve the concrete, the intimate, the personal — to preserve the inner life. . . ."[3] This indicates a disillusionment with outward ("public") securities and a return to the elementals of life ("privatism"), namely to family, school, and religion.

This searching for personal significance is accompanied by a search for a heritage and a new respect for tradition. "Present-day youth has to rest its large-scale security on deeper foundations, and this is probably the source of much of its religious interest. . . . Some of it is finding no greater security than an Epicurean philosophy to chance offers; but much of it is getting down to bedrock and finding a foundation on which life can rest unmoved, if not unshaken, in stormy times. There is a venturesomeness in this quest, but it is a hidden thing and not apparent to those who think of risk only in terms of risked capital or risked lives."[4]

The Christian Faith and an "Other-directed" Culture

A genuine Christian faith calls for authentic personal existence. This goes right to the heart of the yearnings and deeper stirrings which are present in our "other-directed" culture.

The outstanding characteristic of our "other-directed" culture is the horror of standing out, of being one's self; it is a drive toward compulsive conformity; it is a fascination with the adjusted personality. You might call this the characteristic sin of our culture.

Now in this situation, the kind of

[3] Peter Viereck, *The Unadjusted* Man. Boston: Beacon Press, 1956.

[4] H. Richard Niebuhr, "On Our Conservative Youth," *Seventy-Five*. New Haven: *Yale Daily News*, 1953.

preaching that comes from the Social Gospel becomes irrelevant. To make an appeal to people for sociability, and for a spirit of "togetherness" merely intensifies their compulsive groupism. We must recognize this. Preachers are always too prone to preach yesterday's sermon to today's people.

In this situation, the Christian appeal must be for genuine autonomy, for resistance to compulsive conformity and group-mindedness. Christian responsibility in the present cultural situation has two aspects: (a) *Negative*: to be uncompromisingly critical of the emerging "other-directed" mass culture as a threat to the personality and humanness of men. (b) *Positive*: with love and concern, to enter into the tensions and anxieties that lie beneath the surface of "other-directed" adjustment.

In this dual role, the sensitive Christian stands at a frontier, being both *in* and *over against* his culture. He is in the world, immersed in its concerns, its tasks, and its responsibilities because it is the world which God created and in which he has placed us to sanctify his Name. The Christian is himself deeply affected and influenced by all the cultural forces of the age.

But the Christian is at the same time aware of the meaning of being *over against the world*, always remembering the injunction: "Be not conformed to this world." The world, created by God, is estranged from its divine source and therefore fallen from its created goodness.

Now one word of warning: the frontier is *within every person* as well as in the world. You must recognize this or you will fall into the trap of self-righteousness, the most dangerous of all sins. What is in other people is in us, only more so.

There is an old story about a rabbi lying on his deathbed. He said: "When I was a young man, I had grandiose visions. I was going to convert the whole world to God. Then as I grew a little older, my ambition sort of shrank. I decided to convert my town to God. Then as I got through middle age, I said to myself, 'After all, let's begin with my family.' Now I'm lying on my deathbed, it suddenly occurs to me that my primary problem is to convert myself." You see? That's the real problem. It's a mere evasion of responsibility to see one's self as already whole and healing everybody else. Only God heals. The most you can do is to hope that God will make you an instrument of his healing. However, there is a real sense of vocation. It is to stand witness to the living God against the idolatries of the world, to give the world no rest so long as the world has not God. Now you have to specify that, concretize that in terms of the cultural situation. And today, whether we like it or not, that sense of vocation requires us to serve as guardians of the void and against the demons who threaten to invade it.

From this frontier position, the sensitive Christian can make an approach both to: (a) *the maverick minority* which often self-consciously seeks to be "nonconformist" and thus falls into an inverse conformity of nonconformity, and to (b) *the massive majority*, immersed in synthetic sociability yet not completely unaware of the subterranean stirrings of authentic personhood.

He can speak to the world on its own terms without succumbing to the world — nor succumbing to its values as final and self-validating. For he has his own "point of standing," transcending the world, yet always relevant to it.

The Missionary and the Diffusion of Culture—III

The Christian Predicament

High on the wind-swept slopes of Mount Mojanda in the Ecuadorean Andes a group of Quechua Indians knelt silently in the Roman Catholic church and listened with awe as a Spanish priest chanted mechanically through the early dawn funeral mass. Their stares were fixed upon a huge mural depicting the torments of hell which appeared to blaze and then simmer as flickering candles animated this awesome plight of suffering souls. At the last tinkling of the bell, shrouded figures arose, crossed themselves, pulled their woolen ponchos about them and drifted slowly out into the mist-chilled air of the semi-darkness. Casting a hurried glance over their shoulders at the fiery inferno on the wall, they headed for the graveyard burial, and then moved in a body to the liquor shops to blur their minds to the hellish horror that haunted their sober imaginations.

It was late afternoon before bands of drunken Indians staggered homeward followed by their faithful wives who sat beside fallen husbands and redeemed the time by spinning yarn from a distaff of wool. When a husband awoke and arose to continue on the path the wife got up and followed close behind, never ceasing to spin and twist her yarn. The path wound through eucalyptus trees and century plants past the edge of another sight which caused the staggering Indian to stop, rub his bleary eyes, urinate against a wall and then stumble on down the path. On the wall were the words "Misión Protestante." Here a mechanical demon replaced the medieval flames of the church's devil. Cars, trucks, generators, washing machines, saw mills, tractors, and a score of other devices made a thundersome noise that sent the drunken Indian hurrying toward his hut. Finally, sitting in the darkness of his windowless shack, he breathed freely, feeling that he had escaped the fire of the Roman hell and the machines of the mechanized mission.

The above description serves to indicate something of the impression made by the medieval Spanish Catholic and modern Protestant mission upon the Quechua of the Andes. It illustrates what may justly be termed the Predicament of the Christian mission. Here represented were two contrasting forces attempting in very different ways to make claims about Christianity. The Roman Catholic church in the town of Tabacundo, a mile from the Protestant mission, was nestled into the quiet, pious, reflective, selfish atmosphere of medieval Spanish life. The rhythm of this life was symbolized by the slow pealing of the church bells both day and night. The atmosphere was one of maintaining the *status quo*. Life was

envisaged as unchanging and lived out in terms of centuries. All of this was evident in the ancient architecture of the buildings, the trades of the small craftsmen and the gossip and small talk on the lips of those who gathered to pass the time of day on the one cobblestone street of the town.

The Protestant mission was a sharp contrast. Such a contrast, in fact, that it was looked upon by the most liberal of the townspeople as being there to purposely threaten the quiet gossipy life of the little town. The mission's attitude was obviously set for gearing life to another pace. Early-rising, hard-working, time-conscious foreign missionaries were busily up to something which could end in no good in the eyes of the villagers. The mechanical aspect of the mission was in the view of the townspeople a mechanized invasion of their feudal domain. The third side of this peculiar triangle was the Indian who for centuries had adjusted himself to the townsmen and looked upon the bustling mission activity with even more suspicion than did the whites.

It may appear at first unwarranted to place the Protestant mission in this case in the same Predicament as the Catholic church of Tabacundo. However, the same process was at work in both. The Catholic church was presenting the Indian with a view of Christianity brought out of the medieval ages in which the pictorial art and the dazzling architecture of that day were the content expression of Christianity. The Protestant mission on the other hand faced the Indian with a technological world which was just as strange and mystifying to him as the former. Each within its own Predicament had something to say about Christianity. That they lead to different conclusions is obviously true.

The Predicament of the Christian mission referred to here is seen in the diffusion of cultural complexes, medieval art and architecture, 20th century wealth and technology which enter the Quechua's world as part and parcel of the Christian message which may or may not lie deeply encrusted within. The Quechua Indian of the Andes has adjusted his life to the Catholic complex imported from Spain and has maintained a passive relationship to it for centuries. He appears to be as yet frightened by the Protestant innovation.

In the last two issues of PA we have attempted to show that a view of the world, a manner of thinking as well as gross material culture, appears to be inseparably linked with mission activity. In this issue we wish to consider further aspects of how missions infuse foreignisms into native life through the proclamation of the Christian message.

The Role of Colonial Governments

There are two approaches to the problem of the church, its organization and activities which may be seen on many mission fields. One is the missionary direction and participation type in which the missionary sets the pattern for church organization and practice until he has successfully trained local leaders to copy his pattern. This is a form that is commonly seen and appears to be the "natural" process of missions. The other mission approach is what we may call the *laissez-faire* doctrine in which the missionary seeks to make individual converts and teaches them, but does not do so in a "church." Under this approach the folk are obliged to form their own church organization and practices along the lines

which seem natural to them. The latter is not entirely "indigenous" because it is missionary stimulated and missionaries are teaching and are available for counsel and advice if this is asked for.[1]

Both of these approaches are clearly in contrast in the French and British Cameroun. In the former the aim has been to create a church entirely along Reformed lines in which the African pastors may often wear robes in the pulpit, well rehearsed choral groups sing the Hallelujah Chorus, and where a European member of the Reformed tradition would be quite at home. A sophisticated atmosphere dominates in the churches in the French Cameroun where there has been considerable education and the availability of cash crops for the acquisition of many aspects of French culture. The church in reference in the British Cameroun stands in sharp contrast. Here the educated choir singing from the written music score is replaced by native singing with drum beating, hand clapping, and the blowing of native cow horns. The services are conducted along lines which are somewhat spontaneous and outside the direction of missionaries. I am not attempting to say here that one of these is inherently better than the other. The sophisticated people of the French Cameroun would for the most part be shocked (now) to see their northern "British" neighbors at worship in church. Those in British Cameroun would no doubt feel awed by the formality and lack of spontaneity if they witnessed the churches of the French Cameroun.

These two churches exhibit each in its own way a basic difference in French and British colonial policy. The French attitude is that of surppressing native languages and employing the French language from the first year of school. The British usually use the native languages in the first several years of education. The French conceive of the Africans as potentially Frenchmen while the British look upon the Africans as Africans. The result is that these two colonial points of view greatly influence the kind of mission development that has been possible in British and French territories in Africa.

The influence of colonial patterns on the development of church behavior is at this time deep-seated. This may be illustrated by our experience in getting a song book prepared for the Kaka churches in the French Cameroun. Blind Kaka tribesman "Die-tomorrow" is known throughout the tribe as an ardent troubadour of Christian hymns and one of the most capable drummers in the tribe. After I had watched "Die-tomorrow" beat the drums I asked him to work out words and music to the accompaniment of the drum. He showed no interest but continued to sing the Bulu hymns in Kaka (with American church tunes). More than a hundred of these Kaka-from-Bulu hymns were recorded and a song book prepared. "Die-tomorrow" has consistently rejected the possibility of adapting his words to local music. It is not simply that "Die-tomorrow" is incapable of doing that task. It is rather an awareness that the Christian people would ridicule him for making the people go backwards rather than forwards in their conscious process of becoming more Europeanized. This again illustrates how the church behavior and ritual is affected by the pressure of the colonial power.

The question that naturally arises is whether or not the Africans will feel constrained to continue this European

[1] Wm. A. Smalley: "Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church," PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1958), pp. 51-65.

adaptation after full independence is achieved in the French Cameroun.

New Gods for Old

Life in Africa is conceived of in a way which is often closely parallel to Old Testament life and thought. African life is controlled by a consciousness of law very much on the order of the legalism of the Jews. The African is aware of traditional law which embodies an unwritten code of behavior which when violated brings on impurity, and a cleansing from this impurity must follow a specified ritual. Respect of traditions, the statutes of the elders, polygamy, the dowry, the desire to multiply the race, a feeling for spiritual causation, are but a few of the kinds of similarities between the modern African and ancient Hebrew cultures. The Predicament for the modern missionary is his separation from much of this point of view as was indicated in the first of the articles in this series.[2] The attempt on the part of missions to make Greek-thinking rationalists out of Africans is often met with strong resistance. The African Christian wants and reads the New Testament, but there is a home-like atmosphere in the Old Testament where he finds a bond that it largely absent in the writings of Paul and the apostles.

The introduction of Christianity inevitably takes one of two paths in laying a foundation for Christian teaching. Old gods are destroyed and new ones substituted for them, or the old gods undergo a remodeling process in which they are shaped up to fit Biblical statements about God. The Bulu *Zambe* was a creator but he created and then left man with no more concern for him. *Zambe's* job was completed in the creation of the physical world. Christianity recalled *Zambe* out of his oblivion to complete the unfinished task of redemption. The Kaka *Ndjambie*, a cognate word, had also the role of creator but remained in the form of the spider as an impersonal force maintaining the creation in the skies, but man and the earth were largely independent of him. *Ndjambie* has undergone a radical transformation.[3] The making over of *Zambe* and *Ndjambie* has been possible because they shared something (creation) with the Christian idea of God. In many societies the transformation of God is the selection of one of several available gods who then undergoes the process of being promoted and replaces all lesser gods. In many cases the lesser gods are not, however, forgotten as their function continues in some changed aspect.

It appears to be the case in many primitive and folk cultures that the spirit world here below is of much more concern than some abstract creator or fateful force off in the heavens. The world of the dead, the presence of evil powers, witchcraft and magic are things which to many tribes are here and now, and upset or control the ongoing life of a group. In the cultures of the Cameroun these spirit entities were freely moving things without any organization among themselves. However, the Christian introduction of the personality and idea of Satan has been grasped much more vividly than have many other infusions of new religious ideas. It was as though the spirit world were waiting for a ruler to whom the erratic behavior of spirits could be subject. Satan has become the

[2] PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1958), pp. 139-146.

[3] Wm. D. Reyburn: "The Transformation of God and the Conversion of Man," PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 4, No. 5 (1957), pp. 185-194.

reason and excuse for all human frailty. While God was never a personal idea, the introduction of Satan into the realm of the very close personal-spiritual relation has made Satan a great personal force in the lives of church members. Satan entered a realm where people consciously rub shoulders with spiritual beings. Satan is in the here and now and gets the blame for nearly everything. *Ndjambie,* on the other hand, is in the far away and appears to be still at long range from the Kaka Christian's thought world.

In addition to the God-Satan introduction among the Kaka, the distinction of heaven and hell are received with interesting reactions. Among the Kaka Christians heaven (called Paradise from the Bulu trade language Scriptures) is essentially an extension of this life. However, it is fraught with difficulties because there is "no marriage and giving in marriage." While preparing a catechism in the Kaka language, we came to the writing of a statement to the effect that those in heaven would *serve* God. In Kaka there is no word to express any difference between hard labor and merely rendering a service. When I suggested the term *ñélo saé,* "to do work," my two assistants threw down their pencils and looked at each other in disgust. "Is that the reward of a good life?" shouted one of the men. We had to seek a better expression.

The Christian Scriptures

The translation of the Scriptures is an excellent example of the way in which missionaries infuse native cultures with strange and different ideas from Biblical cultures. I handed a student of the Mpompong tribe a French Bible and asked him to read the twentieth chapter of Genesis. I watched his face as he silently lipped through the words. He frowned slightly as he read how Abimelech had taken Sarah the "sister" of Abraham but did not "approach her." Then he continued to verse twelve where Abraham said that Sarah was his half sister. The student stopped, looked at me, and with a stunned expression said, "No, how could he marry his own sister? He would call her 'sister.' How could his family face their shame? If they should have a child it would die." All of this he read into the passage from his own tribal laws governing the relation between children of the same father.

On another occasion I asked a Kaka teacher-catechist to find for me in his Bulu Bible the most difficult to believe passage he could find. He turned immediately to no New Testament miracle, nor to the birth of Christ, but to the 19th chapter of Genesis and with his eyes blinking and bulged he haltingly read the account of Lot and his two daughters who intoxicated their father and conceived children from him. Putting down his Bible he placed his hands on top of his head in a sign of shame and said, "Oh, no, no. Those children would have to be born dead to remove their sin." This was followed by a long series of "Oh, oh, oh, what customs those people had!"

Conclusion

When we attempt to review some of the factors which have been discussed in these three articles we see first how interdependent they actually are. Many missionaries decry the loss of indigenous arts. Instead of taking time to make a drum an African may prefer to buy a phonograph and become a listener of music rather than a creator of drum rhythm. Missionaries may remark that

it is to be regretted that the women do not make the beautiful clay pots as formerly. However, one is prone to forget that by encouraging monogamy and establishing church structures that are operated on money values, one is also affecting native art. When I asked some Kaka women recently why they had bought pans instead of making clay pots, they replied that since they had no co-wives to help in their husband's cocoa gardens, they had no time to make and decorate a pot. The cash crop helps pay the catechist who has to be paid according to the established mission pattern. The women are the laborers in the market crop gardens and there is little time now for anything else. The African is asked why he has given up the beautiful decorative work on his upright drum. His workmanship appears to the missionary as sloppy and careless. The reason is that the African wants a guitar, or other European musical instrument. His native drum has had no functional role in the church so why should he be motivated to elaborate it and express his creative art in its manufacture. In order to acquire the European instrument he needs money and he is thwarted and frustrated in his attempt to secure the necessary money and is often criticized by the Europeans as having allowed himself to love money unduly.

Mission developments that have taken place since the beginning or middle of the last century have grown at the same time with American industrial power and technical specialization. Many American and European missions tend to be a symbol of the wealth and technology which is the goal of those who share a feeling for a mechanized world. The more the missionary has become *homo faber* (the machine-age species of human being) the more he has separated himself from the ways and thinking of most of the world's population.

While talking to a group of Kaka villagers about the gospel, I paused to ascertain if they followed what I had claimed. "Do you grant it so?" I asked. A village elder sitting in the rear spoke up saying, "Why should we say you don't speak straight? Haven't we seen that you can fly through the skies?" What this old man meant was that if a white man can cause an airplane to fly, why should the African villager doubt his word about such a simple matter as God's love. Here is precisely the Predicament of modern Christianity and missions. What is the motive to believe? To what extent is Africa south of the Sahara today filled with Christian churches promoted by a feeling of inferiority rather than a desire to believe? What has been the effect on the Indians of the Andes exposed for centuries to the medieval artistic impressions of hell? Be it the flaming scenes on a church wall or the magic of modern transportation, the folk man is destined to be on the receiving end of this world-wide promotion. The missionary is forced by the nature of the age in which we live to view critically and carefully the process by which we spread *Christianity in cultures.*

W. D. R.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

A People in Transition

I HAVE spent two years in southeastern Alaska doing secretarial work. The first year I worked for the territorial government and the second in a mission school. I had the opportunity of knowing and working with many of the Thlinget[1] Indian people. At the school I also had contact with students who were of Haida, Tsimpshean, and Athabaskan Indian background, as well as a few Eskimos. This paper will concern the Thlingets of southeastern Alaska only. While there I had no knowledge of anthropology, and at the same time made no attempt to study these people. Much of this paper, therefore, is written in retrospect.

During these two years, many times I asked the question, "Why aren't there more native Christians?" I worked with a native pastor who is one of the most outstanding Christians I have ever met, and there were a few other native Christians, but in relation to the number of churches (at least 10 in Sitka, which has a population of 3,500), their extensive work, and the length of time the church has been there (about 80 years), the number of Christians seemed very small to me. The answer I was constantly given was, "Well, the church has been here less than 100 years, and this is not very long when you consider the effect the Gospel has had in other areas." Another answer that I actually heard a couple of times from evangelical ministers was that "the Holy Spirit must have departed from Southeast Alaska!"

[1] In this paper I am using the most common spelling seen in Alaska, rather than "Tlingit" which is seen in most anthropological literature.

Miss Lois Sorensen, after a term of missionary service in Alaska, took a course in anthropology at Wheaton College. There she found the theoretical and factual basis for some of the "feelings" which she had had about the Alaskan work. Some of the problems about which she has been thinking were drawn together and described in this paper and in correspondence with friends in Alaska.

Conflicting Influences

The Russians occupied Alaska in the late 1700's and most of the 1800's, and organized many Russian Orthodox churches. American missionaries entered Alaska about 1870. Dr. Sheldon Jackson was among the first. He started a school for some of the boys in Sitka. The purpose of the school was to give them a Christian education which included such things as cleanliness, sanitation, and higher moral standards. To accomplish this it was necessary to separate the boys from their community life, and an American-type school was built. Dr. Jackson was the leading spirit in revolutionizing that part of Alaska in terms of the acceptance of education and in opening up the territory to Christian missionary

activity. However, the consequences of his program, as it has been carried on through the years, have had their unfavorable aspects. Although it was not expressly spoken, the actions seem to imply that it would be best to destroy everything in local culture and make white men out of these students as quickly as possible. The students were forbidden to speak their native language while at the school; they therefore had to learn English.

This attitude of the necessity of turning the Indians into cultural white people as soon as possible has continued, and after 80 years of existence the school is hard at work with this problem. Dr. Jackson was also the first Education Commissioner for Alaska; the government schools were therefore all started with this same pattern. Not only has such an attitude been held by the missionaries and educators, but it has carried over also into the government departments as well. There has been little real attempt at identification with the natives, but simply a one-way communication in most cases. I realize what has been said, and will be said throughout the rest of this discussion, may seem highly critical. However, I think it will be found to be a realistic picture of the situation in this area.

White people in Alaska have not gone there to establish homes and remain for the rest of their lives, but are transient. There is a large number of service men with their families who are there, usually for two years, and then leave. The government term of service for nurses, teachers, and clerical workers is also two years. Many people who go are looking for excitement, and two years is enough for them. Life is slow in the towns because of isolation, and the excitement soon wears off. Other people go to Alaska to "help humanity," and often after two years feel they have done enough. Others go to escape or solve a personal problem. Alaska is often thought of as a wild place, but also as a good place to be a hermit. Many individuals live by themselves and have very little contact with others. This assortment of kinds of people is represented among staff members of the hospitals, schools, and offices. Sometimes they have not been able to get along well in the States and as a last resort have come to Alaska. Almost anyone can get a job in Alaska as the demand is so great, and the pay high, attracting many people whose feeling of security in other communities has worn thin. As a consequence, there are ill-advised adventure-seekers — often with a very minimum of training — leading the native people and setting examples by which they should live.

Not all of the people are like the former. There are *many* educated, well-adjusted, and well-trained people, but often they are in administrative positions. Even though they are the ones making decisions on policies affecting the natives, they often sit behind a desk all day and never mingle with the native people.

With the great turnover in personnel, each new group of workers that comes in is inclined to think they know how everything should be run, and immediately set about to change everything and get rid of the "old fogies" who have tested and tried many of these methods and adopted the ones that worked best. The native sees instability again and again.

Some Consequences

Even though the Thlinget language is used very little today, in the villages

many still speak their native tongue. There are still a number of the older people who do not understand English. Last June a friend and I took our violin and flute and went to see a bed-ridden Thlinget friend who lives with her mother. The mother cannot speak English. After we had played a few hymns, her mother started singing in Thlinget for us. We were thrilled, as she had never done this before, and we tried to learn some of the words and sing with her. The mother, who is about 80 years of age, was literally jumping up and down with excitement, and her daughter exclaimed over and over again, "They're singing in Thlinget; they're actually singing in our language!" Yet I have been told by missionaries that it is absolutely useless to attempt to translate the Bible into this language as they know English well enough. Another friend told me of how his family made very little use of their radio until a news broadcast was started in the Thlinget language once a week. His mother, who usually retired at 9 every evening, would stay up until 10:30 just to hear that broadcast. Just listening to this once a week encouraged her to use the radio more frequently. A parallel effect might be had upon translating the Bible — the people will desire to read the Bible, and also have a greater desire for education.

The Native Social Structure

The family structure, although quite strong, is rapidly breaking down. Feelings many times continue to be strong where clan membership in matters of courtship and marriage are involved. It is no longer absolutely necessary that marriage be outside the clan, but this is still desired. One daughter remarked to her mother, "Every time I date a fellow I like, you tell me he's related to me. They have adopted the American dating system, but still do not feel entirely free to marry anyone they please. Many of the natives feel it will advance their status if they marry white people, and there is a great deal of interracial marriage. The missionaries have told them that their matrilineal clan structure is not in accordance with the patrilineal structure of the Old Testament and they should therefore give up their matrilineal structure. The natives have probably held on to their matrilineal system more firmly, however, than many other of their cultural features. The children are confused. They are told by the white people that their parents ideas are wrong and old-fashioned. On one hand they are drawn towards accepting the white man's way, and yet their family ties are so strong that they cannot entirely reject them.

Alcoholism

Among elders and young people, alcoholism is one of the main results of the transition process. Many of the Thlinget are confused and frustrated. They cannot live in their old way, and they cannot live in the white way either; so they turn to drink and soon become alcoholics. The police are often bribed and they pay little attention to it. It seems that almost every other door in the downtown area is a liquor store or a bar. The example of most of the white people has encouraged drinking because most of them drink. One former minister drove a cab and delivered liquor to help out in his support. The liquor business is a major business in Alaska, and since there is no law against the sale of it, the natives are often led by white example to think that there is nothing wrong with it.

Extramarital Relations

Alcohol and the presence of members of the armed services have both contributed to the presence of many illegitimate children. The parents feel badly when this happens, but do not turn their daughters away. Most of the girls refuse to marry the father of the baby because it would usually necessitate leaving home and Alaska. Of course, it is sometimes true that the father refuses to marry the girl. The Welfare Department, therefore, must support the child and its mother. When a young girl sees that she can get money for having an illegitimate child, she will often have others in order to get more money. This fact is commonly known, yet the schools and churches do very little teaching of moral principles. Most churches do not teach Christian concepts of marriage, or that one's body is a temple of the Holy Spirit.

Remnants of Old Culture

Superstition still exists, but most of it is under cover. No native would admit to a white person that he still believes in the supernatural powers remaining from the old religion, yet occasionally there will be a flare-up, or someone in close contact with the native will relate things he has observed. Such information in all probability is transmitted among people who are in church on Sunday mornings.

In earlier days the potlatch was a feast at which the host gave gifts to his guests and destroyed enormous amounts of valuable property like blankets, skins, oil, and valuable "coppers" which were symbols of wealth. This was done in order to shame the guest, and to assert the superiority of the host, or to honor someone who had recently died. A form of the potlatch still exists today; however, this too is under cover. A present-day potlatch corresponds more to our big parties where there is much eating and drinking. A very important part, also, is story-telling. The different clans represented may tell their various legends. There may be even deeper significances to the potlatch that remains in its present form which have not been obliterated nor superseded by the teaching that they have received.

Personal Suggestions

1. I believe that the native language should be used, not primarily in order to preserve the language, but as a means of teaching the older people who are the ones who rule the homes and families. It may also be used to reach the younger and middle-aged people who have been brought up in homes where the native language was spoken and native expressions and ways of thinking were learned. Many feel that this will encourage the people to go backwards. I feel that it will not do that, but will recognize the fact that the language is being used and show the people the value of their culture. The adjustment to white cultural patterns will be easier and less painful for them; and this will also give the white people a greater appreciation of the natives. Together they can then share a new if changed world. If this, and the probable strengthening of whatever cultural integrity is left, is going "backwards," it is only if becoming a "white man" is considered "progress." The entire population of North American Indians is facing white sentiment, as well as legislation, born of this notion, that assimilation equals progress.

Recently I was talking to a young Thlinget who is studying in Chicago to be a doctor. I asked him his opinion of translating into the native language. At

first he saw little value in it, but later he said, "Well, if you do that, perhaps the people will quit being the spectators and become the players, and they will see that the Gospel is really for them too, and will understand it better."

2. Potluck suppers, which have already been established, can serve as a partial substitute for the potlatch. It would be valuable to have a planned program after the supper which might be recreational, spiritual, or both. Perhaps one of the native people could tell a Thlinget legend or some of their history. (I was greatly impressed at a Sunday School picnic when the native minister told a story in Thlinget of the Raven and the Wolf, and another man translated into English.) At other times a short devotional message could be brought, preferably by a Thlinget. A greater and stronger fellowship of the Christians is possible through these potluck suppers.

3. Native leadership should be encouraged in the churches. Attempts have often been made to get native Sunday School teachers, but these have not been very successful. I think that one basic reason for the failure is that the native people do not like to be responsible to a white person. If a native were in the position of leadership, however, they would probably be more willing to help in the church. Perhaps a native could teach a small Sunday School class of adults or children in the Thlinget language. Native deacons, ushers, and choir directors have proved very effective and should be encouraged to continue.

4. The godly Thlinget pastor mentioned above is preaching to his congregation mainly in English because of the nature of the missionary methods which have prevailed. Although it has been the tradition and all of his "education" has been against using the Thlinget language, and about half of his congregation are white and English-speaking, I believe that he should be encouraged to expand a ministry in his native language. If people will stay up an hour and a half later at night to hear the news in their language, the Gospel in their language, both in the churches and on the radio, should have far-reaching results. During the summer most of the people are out fishing and have very little opportunity for worship. Some other form of worship should be substituted, and the radio might well be a means of doing this. During the winter, when many of them are not working, they sleep late in the mornings, which means that Sunday School and morning worship are poorly attended. Many of the villages have found that it is better to have Sunday School in the afternoon and the main worship service in the evening. Many ministers, however, have felt that the morning service should be emphasized. I think that the worship service should be fitted to their schedule, as there is nothing supernatural or supercultural about holding a worship service at a certain hour in the morning or evening as it is done in the United States and Canada.

5. As much as is possible, the newcomers to Alaska should be screened and should have a good orientation and know what to expect *before* going. Although this is desirable, it is impossible for all personnel. But it should be imperative for missionaries. I also feel that it is impossible for a person to do a lasting job on a short-term basis (such as a 2- or 4-year term). The need is so extensive that the emphasis has often been on quantity, and not on quality, both in the church field and government work. This needs to be changed, or the results

that have already appeared will become worse, and greater problems will develop. An anthropological orientation program, I think, is vital, especially to those who expect to work with the native people.

Even if one is not working with the native people, his influence in the community will spread to the natives. This orientation needed cannot be accomplished in a 3-day training session or even a week. At least a month, plus reading of many background books would be more desirable. If someone is willing to go through all this, then chances of being accepted by the natives will be much greater because he has already shown his desire to learn and not to teach, or force (as has been the result in many cases) his knowledge on the people. Someone who is willing to go through this is probably a better adjusted person.

I found that even though I was not particularly interested in learning about the customs of the people, many times the native people would tell me about them. I think the reason for this was that I did not have a critical attitude toward them or their culture as so many white people did. I think they sensed that I was honest in wanting to help them and they did not feel that whatever they told me would be used against them. It is necessary to stay there a long time to win their confidence. The Thlinget people *will not* open up to strangers, and when someone such as a writer asks prying questions they may give him a partial answer, or say they do not know, that there is nothing unusual, or even give a wrong answer. We would react the same way if someone came prying into our personal affairs. Writers, for instance, will go to Alaska for two weeks to two months and then go back to the States and write a book of stories on Alaska. These stories cannot possibly be altogether factual, although they have some truth in them. Above all, "the love of Christ constraineth us" is the important qualification and attitude.

6. The importance of lay workers in this area cannot be overemphasized. There are already so many churches, with just a handful of people (usually untrained) in each church. The minister is faced with being head of the Sunday school, church janitor, doing all the secretarial and bookkeeping work, making repairs, etc., plus preaching and visiting his parish. The lay worker, someone living in the community and working so that he has his own support, has an unlimited opportunity. Also, the natives can see in someone besides their minister — who gets paid for doing it — how the Christian life should be lived. There is a tremendous ministry among the white people also, both Christian and non-Christian, for the lay worker.

Unanswered Questions

So far I have said very little about how to go about developing the native church, mostly because I do not know the answer. How does one go about establishing an indigenous church in such a place where people stand between two cultures and where there is so much ambiguity in the cultural framework? Does the matrilineal system have to be replaced by the patrilineal system? Will the potlatch have to be destroyed, and if so, how? Should Alcoholics Anonymous or a similar group be sought to aid in the alcoholic problem?

Lois Sorensen

REPLY:

Planting the Church in a Disintegrating Society

THE picture which you draw of Thlinget and other people of Indian background in Alaska is not as unusual as you may think. Many of the details of your description can be paralleled in one society after another around the world, places where the impact of the West upon an aboriginal culture has left a people in transition, as you say: disoriented, insecure, afraid. It has often happened that a society has been shaken to its very roots by contact with another. Its major presuppositions have been challenged. Its way of life has been changed either through force or influence. It sees a way of life which has many of the earmarks of power and the glitter of wealth — a way of life which seems materially desirable; and yet the Western alternative presented to it is too complex for it to understand. It holds tenaciously, and a little bit hysterically sometimes, to certain aspects of its past. Its insecurity, its fear, breaks out sometimes in a violent movement such as the Mau Mau and sometimes in emotional apathy and resignation. As different as the atrocities of the Mau Mau and the lethargy of many American Indian groups seem, they are but two symptoms of the same conflict of cultures, the same breakdown of values. In your case the cultural apathy carries along with it a religious apathy, and even among those Thlinget who have become Christians the spirit of the present Thlinget world is that spirit of lethargy and deadness.

History Cannot Be Reversed

Much as you may regret it, you can never turn back the Thlinget clock. The unfortunate train of events, the unfortunate influences of the past, can never be removed. Like every other realistic missionary in the world, you have to accept people where they are and move on from there. We have outstanding precedent in this; this is the way in which God has dealt with mankind all down through Biblical history.

You might as well face the fact that by and large the Thlinget language is probably on its way out. And the truth of how long it will last probably lies somewhere between the extremes of those missionaries who feel that by teaching a few more people English they have ensured its death, and those missionaries who feel that it must be maintained at all costs. Nobody can predict without a careful ethno-linguistic survey how long the language will last as a functional part of Thlinget life. But we can be reasonably sure that eventually — in a matter of generations — it will pass on, whether we like it or not.

In the meantime, we must realize that for some of the Indians there is security and prestige in the use of English, that to some of them no doubt the use of their native language seems a mark of

backwardness and inferiority. To others, as you point out, the native language is still that emotional vehicle through which they feel and to which their hearts respond.

The relationship of the church to all of this is a very serious matter. The ministry of the Gospel is to all people, including both the ones who look forward to English and those who look backward to Thlinget. It seems to me that an adequate ministry will have to provide for both. However, a missionary should not be misled by ideas about the effectiveness of Biblical translation in isolation. It is not going to be enough to translate the Scriptures and to present them to a handful of individuals who would be interested in reading them. If work is undertaken in Thlinget literature, it should be undertaken enthusiastically and fully to the point where there is some functional use for written Thlinget. This would involve reading materials both of a religious and non-religious nature. It would involve, in short, the provision of enough materials for the Thlinget reader such that he would feel that reading was worth while for him and, more than that, would provide him with these materials cast in such a way that he would not feel that it would be better to have them in English.[1]

History cannot be reversed, but a new future can sometimes be fashioned out of some of the relics of the past, and, like some other groups in the world, the Thlinget language perhaps can be an important vehicle again (along with English) if it is made functional and relevant in a way that seems worth while for the modern world (as the Thlinget looks upon it) and not simply a fossilized vestige of an unhappy past.

The Planting of the Church

Your question, "How does one go about establishing an indigenous church in such a place where people stand between two cultures and where there is so much ambiguity in the cultural framework?" is an agonizing one for many a missionary; but I think first of all we can arrive at a better understanding of its implications by foregoing the concept of "establishing" a church and speak instead of "planting" the church.[2] "Planting" essentially involves communicating. It involves the transfer of a message from one individual to another, not the concerns of organization and procedure which so occupy the thinking of many missionaries.

The task of communicating the Gospel among the Thlinget is fundamentally, of course, the same task that it is anywhere else. It is that of finding out how the message which came in the cultural garb of the Middle East hundreds of years ago, and which the missionary understands principally in the cultural garb of Western 20th century, can in turn be made to strike with impact and sharp force in the cultural garb of an Indian of Alaska. The difficulties involved are especially severe, however, because of the tensions and disintegration within the society there. There is no single unambiguous language and culture pattern for them. Instead, there is flux and insecurity, change and instability. This complicates the task but does not change its essential nature.

[1] See William D. Reyburn, "Literacy in Primitive Society," *The Bible Translator*, Vol. 9, No. 2, (Apr. 1958), pp. 76-81.

[2] See William A. Smalley, "Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church," PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Mar.-Apr. 1958), pp. 51-65.

The problem remains one of speaking to the issues which the Indians see and stimulating them to put their reliance upon Jesus as Savior and Lord. It is in the determining of the issues as the Indians see them that anthropology first fits into the picture.

This is not just a matter of orienting newcomers to Alaska. Neither three days, nor three months, nor three years will do it for some people; and yet a few rare souls have such sensitivity and perceptiveness that they learn whether they are "oriented" or not. I thoroughly agree with you that all newcomers should be oriented as you suggest. But the point is that this orientation will not lead people to an effective communication of the Gospel, although it may help them to avoid many mistakes which could be a serious hindrance to the preaching of Christ.

We are going to have to be careful not to project our sense of needs completely into the Thlinget situation. When we think of religion we think of the need for morality, honesty, hard work, social consciousness, love of one's neighbor. These and a thousand other things are specific needs in our life, which the Gospel fills. Some of these needs the Thlinget will sense, and others they will not, at least not at first. I suspect that their needs would be phrased in much more highly emotional terms if they were to be phrased at all. I suspect that the need for security and protection and stability in life would rank high if the Gospel could be so presented to them. I suspect that an emotional outlet such as the Indians of the Southwest achieve through the Peyote or the Sun Dancers or which some groups of Christians achieve through highly emotional evangelistic services would rank high among Thlinget needs. It is hard to predict, but I suspect that some of the things which you have particularly mentioned like alcoholism and illegitimacy of children might not be listed at all and some things that we would never think of would be extremely important.

By this I am not saying that the needs which we see in Thlinget life are not also very real, but my point is that for the communication of the Gospel to them, the needs which they sense are those which motivate them toward Christ if they feel that He has an answer for them. After their initial contact with Him, after their conversion and that subtle transformation that occurs in culture as the result of the Holy Spirit operating through it, other needs of which they were not conscious before may well come to the surface. A new dimension of definition of needs becomes relevant to them because of the Scriptures and because of a wider outlook and understanding of God in their relationship to man.

A church springing up from such soil as this could have many forms. It might show an identification with the past, a strong sense of Thlinget solidarity, a reexpression of Thlinget moral values in a Christian setting. As such it would probably be repudiated by "progressive" elements in the Indian population. Or then it might show an identification with the West, with Western cultural forms and Western ideas. In such a case it would emphasize the use of English, the Western English Scriptures, and education in English. As such it would leave the older folks and the less Westernized people cold. Then again the new church might be a new synthesis of cultural elements such that in it and around it Thlinget of all kinds, those whose eyes

are essentially on the past and those whose eyes are essentially on the West, would find a new expression, a new synthesis, a new way of life. I should hope that a church of this kind would grow out of the soil that you have described.

But for such a church to grow, what will be needed? We have already mentioned the nature of the communication that will have to take place. But I doubt if a church of this kind will really grow as a direct result of missionary activity. Usually such churches are one step removed from the missionary; they result from the work of some outstanding leader himself perhaps brought under the influence of the Gospel by a missionary, but recasting his message in terms of the aspirations and needs of his people and presenting the Gospel to them in a way that strikes home to their very souls. This is the role of the prophet, of the man who has that extra margin of vision to see beyond the horizon of his traditions, to stretch the borders of his own background, to interpret what God has for His people to them.

Should such a prophet arise and should a church be established through his work, we could almost predict that the major mission forces in Alaska will look askance at the results. The movement will most certainly be an emotional movement, and with a highly intellectual Western Christianity most of us find it hard to appreciate the Holy Spirit working through the emotions of less emotionally straitjacketed people than ourselves. A movement of this kind, even though it may not be the immediate direct product of a missionary's activity and even though it may seem strange to him in its overt expression, can still provide a tremendously significant area of work for him in his relationship to the developing group of Christian people. If he has tact and consideration and is willing to work with the Holy Spirit and the forces of culture which are bringing the church to fruition, his ministry of translation, of teaching, of stimulation, of bringing new ideas, can be a very profund one. I know of no greater place of trust than that of a sensitive missionary in such a position as this.

I take it that a movement of this kind has not yet sprung up among the Indians of Alaska and we cannot wait for it to do so but must push ahead, seeking to understand the Indians in such a way that our feeble message as foreigners will come to them, that the Holy Spirit will supply that measure of power which will overcome our deficiency, and that God will be pleased to move in His own way and in His own time.

Some Matters of Detail

There were several specific questions of a cultural nature which were raised in your article. For example, there was that of the matrilineal system versus a patrilineal one. In the past the Thlinget people have reckoned their family systems through the mother instead of through the father and American missionaries and American administrators steeped in the traditions of the Hebrew Old Testament and the good old American way of life have felt that this is wrong. To be realistic again, we must realize that in time probably the matrilineal social structure of the Indians in Alaska will break down through the influence of the West, and its courts, and its schools. But, as I think you sense, this issue is really an irrelevant one for the church. God worked through a patrilineal society in the Hebrew people and He has worked

through matrilineal societies elsewhere. There is nothing intrinsically moral or right and wrong about social structure as such. The many different social structures as found today in the world are simply many different ways of organizing group behavior into useful channels and of making life more valuable to the participants in the society. The missionary's role in relation to this as in relation to other cultural matters is to let history take its course and to concern himself with more important issues. Not that he should not understand the social structure as it exists and the tensions within it. That is very important, but it is not his place to make changes. Should the society, on the other hand, be in the process of changing, it is not his place, either, to hold tightly to the past and try to thwart the changes. It is perfectly legitimate for him to participate by pointing out difficulties or problems which he may see and possible avenues of change. He is not in a cultural vacuum and should not pretend to be so, but that is a far different matter from the deliberate and energetic attempts to promote change or resist it which have so characterized Americans, including missionaries, in their dealings with other people.

The potlatch is, of course, famous in anthropological literature. It has long fascinated me as being the symptom of a type of attitude toward one's fellow human being that also characterizes so much of American life. The potlatch was an instrument of aggression. As you well know, the Indians of the Northwest Coast destroyed or gave away property in order to shame their neighbors, in order to get the best of them. This is fantastically similar to the society of many of our big cities where people spend money so lavishly in order to best their neighbors in the continual competition of keeping on top of the social heap. And just as the spirit which prompts these American displays of wealth can be identified as part of the American brand of worldliness, so I am sure the spirit which prompts the potlatch exhibit is likewise the Thlinget brand of that same unhealthy hold that our culture sometimes has upon us. Here again it is not the potlatch in itself as an institution, but the meaning that motivates it, that is unchristian. That same spirit that motivates it is very parallel to the spirit behind much of American life, including the life of many of the missionaries who would condemn the potlatch institution. Simply because the forms which it takes in American life seem more civilized to us, the potlatch seems a more barbaric custom, but in terms of Christian values it reflects the same agressive selfishness we show.

Again I feel that the potlatch as an institution is not really any of the missionary's business. As men are confronted with Christ in a way that makes Him seem relevant to them, a transformation takes place in their lives and it is quite possible that the spirit behind the old potlatch will be part of what is transformed into the image of God's Son.

Alcoholism likewise is a symptom. It is a symptom of the cultural tensions, the breakdown of values, the lack of moral pressures that exist. As serious as its social consequences are, no treatment of this symptom is going to have much lasting value. It is not until men have seen in Christ the fulfillment of the needs which they sense, that such problems as alcoholism will find a solution. I doubt that any such group as Alcoholics Anonymous would have much effect in Thlinget society. That particular group

works on the basis of a strong desire to overcome alcoholism and upon the pressure created by the group to help each member to keep in line. An entirely new set of pressures and of values would have to be met and would have to be created in order to be based upon the needs which the Thlinget feel.

Illegitimate birth and extramarital sex behavior are again part of the frequent symptoms of this type of a cultural situation. They too will not be remedied by any direct action upon them as such, but only through a restructuring of the whole value system of the people involved. Here again the answer can ultimately only be that of the effective communication of the Gospel, to the answering of the questions which the Thlinget people unconsciously ask themselves.

I would be very cautious about functional substitutes as well. I do not think it is the missionary's place to institute functional substitutes, although it is certainly his place to suggest them at times. I think that functional substitutes are inevitable, that they must inevitably come when in the process of culture change an empty place, a vacuum, is left unmet in the needs which the society feels. Unless functional substitutes are genuinely incorporated by the people themselves, however, they are too divorced and do not really meet the need but instead simply satisfy the qualms of the missionary's conscience.

Warmth and Security of the Gospel

These brief rambling notes in reply to your article will, of course, never really come to grips with the problems that you see around you in Alaska. No one can do so from the outside. If they have any value in stimulating fruitful ideas for you or others, we will be most grateful. Let me come back once more to the basic feeling, the basic impression that I get from so many groups such as the Thlinget. It is that the church which meets their needs will be a church of warmth, of emotional activity — a church where the inhibited, the insecure, the fearful, will be able to give release to their emotions and worship their God spontaneously and freely and openly among their fellows. If I am not mistaken, Christ can be to these people a protector, an older brother, a guard, in a sense that we in our self-sufficient way will never know. There is much that we can teach the Thlinget, but I suspect that if a people's movement breaks out among them there will be aspects of their understanding of God which we have never really appreciated. If we would listen, perhaps there is much they could teach us, too. W. A. S.

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The World Is Too Much with Us

ALICJA IWANSKA, a Polish anthropologist, in describing her observations upon an American farming community, made some generalizations which struck me as extremely pertinent as a summary of American value systems.[1] She said that for the farmers on the large Western farms which she had studied the universe was divided up into three different categories. She labeled the first category *landscape*. It included the distant mountains, the trees, the scenery, the environment of the farmers in so far as this environment was not manipulated by them. They looked at it, they enjoyed it in a disinterested sort of way. It had no high emotional content for them.

The second category of life she labeled *machinery*. To these farmers machinery was an important part of their lives. They polished their machines, they cared for them. The machines had high value to them and they rated their machines in terms of their productivity in their farming life. The livestock belonged to this machinery class of the universe. It was important according to its productivity. It was cared for and kept with much the same earnestness and much the same eye to profits that the machinery had. Real affection and interest, and a great deal of value, was placed upon the machinery category.

Finally, the third category was that which she labeled *people*. People were neighbors, individuals who came in for a cup of coffee, folks who cooperated in times of need or emergency. People were human beings with whom one grew up and lived and died, and with whom one had constant relationships on the social and business level.

Human Beings but not People

The fascinating significance of all this, however, was that not all human beings were people. The Indians, for example, belonged to the landscape class. They were part of the scenery. On a Sunday afternoon one took a drive out to the reservation to look idly and curiously at the Indian communities as one drove by. Mexican migrant workers were machinery. Their value lay in their productivity. Their help was important to the same degree that the help of a cow or the functioning of a fuel pump was important. When their productivity was lessened they would be discarded in much the same way as an old car would be.

Human beings who were people were different in that they had value in and of themselves regardless of their productivity.

[1] Her paper, entitled "Some American Values," was read at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Chicago, 1957.

As I listened to her talk, I could see myself in her characterization. There have been many times when I have sensed the temptation to look on certain groups of human beings as scenery, as part of a landscape. Once, on a mission station where I was working for several months on an important language project, there were people of a colorful tribal group who passed my door daily. I found myself idly interested in them as anthropological curiosities, as part of the passing scene. Now as I visit from country to country, this temptation is always there.

The temptation to look on human beings as scenery finds one kind of expression in our romanticization of the mission field. It is reflected in the kinds of form letters which we write home to tell about color and glamor on the field — color and glamor of a *National Geographic Magazine* sort but without any real humanity in it.

And how utterly characteristic is the tendency to look on human beings as machinery! We value the preachers in the local church on the basis of the "production" of their weekly quota of sermons and pastoral calls or their converts. It is not that we do not love our machines. We like to take care of them, to keep them in good health; we like to keep them in their proper place, however, like the well-loved dog which is a member of the family so long as it sleeps on the floor. We like to have such human beings come and visit us so long as they keep their place and do not usurp the prerogatives of people, and really expect us to treat them like people.

The Need for Change

If we are going to deal with people as people in a culture that is vastly different from our own, we have to come to the fundamental realization that people are different from society to society, and to do this *we* are going to have to make the major move to change. If we are going to be persons among people, our privacy, our established patterns of what is convenient and comfortable are going to have to be drastically modified. Our sense of belonging to ourselves will have to be filed away and we will have to develop a sense of belonging to others, which characterizes so many societies in the world.

This sort of experience involves a tremendous emotional drain. It is an extremely difficult attitude to take and position to follow. It means "becoming all things to all men so that by all means we might win some" in the deepest sense, and it means a type of cultural suicide which Paul characterizes as being "crucified with Christ." On the American scene the problem is just as great. It means to count as people, and not simply as machinery, the Negro groups in our communities, so that they enter into the life of people, as people, in our church groups, in our schools, and in our neighborhoods. This requires a transformation of a major sort for the American system of values.

The deep-seated, ingrown values which have been characterized here cannot easily be peeled off. Rather, a change involves an internal restructuring. It involves being remade inside. Jesus called it being reborn. It implies an intellectual and emotional conversion on our part to the point where we can become neighbors with all human beings everywhere.

In all of the discussion about what "worldliness" means in a Biblical sense and all of the examples of various kinds of behavior which have been classified as worldly by one group or another, I

think that often has been neglected the very basic fact that the spirit of this world is not easy to identify nor is it easy to shake off. Certainly it lies in the attitude and predispositions of our day more than in any particular thing we do. I believe that an important ingredient in the spirit of the American world is that we so often do not really consider human beings to be people. W. A. S.

The New Face of Practical Anthropology

WITH this issue, for the first time, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY comes to you in regular printed format. What started in 1953 as a thin mimeographed experiment has come up through the stages of multilith (from paper master and then from metal plates) until today it graduates to formal letterpress printing.

There are several reasons for the new change. Obviously a printed journal looks more finished, more "professional," than does one reproduced from typewritten script. We hope that as we can work out details for a new cover and other improvements, more people will be tempted to look into PA and that they will find it useful. Perhaps some potential writers will also be more strongly motivated to send us articles which will lend greater coverage of area and subject to our contents.

A printed PA will be less work for us in some ways. In order to get the straight right margins of our previous format, every word has had to be typed twice, once as a "dummy" and again on a stencil. One typing will be eliminated completely, and many articles will not have to be typed by us at all, but can be used as they come from the author, with minor editing.

Then again, our content will be sharply increased. Each page will contain about 30 per cent more material. This will be equivalent to nearly two additional issues per year.

However, there is another and less pleasant reason for change. This is why we make the change now, so suddenly. It is also why this issue is presented as a combined issue, Nos. 5 and 6, in place of the two issues which would normally be produced for the last four months of the year. It is that our multilith costs have mounted so rapidly and steeply this year that it is proving a considerable saving now to have PA printed by the Inter-American Gospel Press in Mexico. The saving may be as much as 25 per cent.

In spite of the increase in subscription price at the beginning of 1958, it has become more and more difficult for PA to pay its bills. Two issues this year were paid for only because of substantial gifts which were made to ease the predicament. The switch to a less expensive means of publication is therefore imperative. It is also necessary, however, to substitute this present double issue for the two which we would have liked to issue. We are sorry, and we hope our readers will understand. You are still getting more content for 1958 than you got for 1957. We hope that with these changes we will

be back on our feet again for the first of the year.

It is going to take some time to work out the details of our new format and procedures. PA will be mailed to you from Mexico, and we have the cooperation of Mr. Paul C. Clarke to help us see it through press and mailing. At the same time Mr. Mark Taylor, the Business Manager of PA, is looking for ways of making further economies in our handling of the subscriptions and the records. One suggestion, which will be implemented immediately, is that all subscriptions be changed to run for calendar years rather than from the time the subscription comes in. This would not mean that people could not take out new subscriptions in July as well as January, but that any subscription taken out in July would begin with the January preceding (or following, if the subscriber preferred). This would save a great deal of work in bookkeeping and taking care of expiration notices.

Notes and News

We would like to hear from those who have recently received a graduate degree in anthropology or linguistics, or whose thesis was cross-culturally oriented. Please send us your name, the degree you received, the institution which granted the degree, and the title of your thesis. This will help our subscribers to locate unpublished materials which may be pertinent to the area in which they are working. It is also helpful for many of the reader of PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY to know about newcomers to the field on the graduate level.

We would also be interested in knowing of any research projects which are particularly relevant to the purposes and goals of PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. Such projects could either be in the field or at home, long-range projects or part-time ones. Write and let us know what you are doing.

REVIEWS

NEW LIVES FOR OLD, by Margaret Mead. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1956. 548 pp.

Reviewed by CLAUDE E. STIPE

In 1928 when Margaret Mead first studied the Manus of the Admiralty Islands, they consisted of about two thousand nearly naked savages "living in pile dwellings in the sea, their earlobes weighed down with shells, their hands still ready to use spears, their anger implemented with magical curses, their morality dependent on the ghosts of the recently dead" (p. 21). These people had no origin theory, no belief in a permanent future life, no writing, no knowledge of the world outside their own small realm, and no political forms which were capable of uniting more than two or three hundred people.

When Mead returned in 1953 she found that in twenty-five years the Manus had become potential members of the modern world

> with ideas of boundaries in time and space, responsibility to God, enthusiasm for law, and committed to trying to build a democratic community, educate their children, police and landscape their village, care for the old and the sick, and erase the age-old hostilities between neighboring tribes (p. 22).

The main catalyst in the change was the American army, for the Manus observed about a million of our troops as they poured through the Admiralty Islands during World War II. They weighed the behavior of one American toward another and built what they learned into the background for a new way of life. The Manus were especially impressed because the Americans — who took no responsibility for the preservation of the caste structure which separated the Europeans from the natives — treated them as individuals. The natives considered this to be the working of the concept of the brotherhood of man about which they had been told by the missionaries, but which they had never seen in actual practice. The many work-saving machines which the soldiers hand, also impressed them greatly.

Many other peoples have endeavored to change as a result of contact with Western civilization but failed because there was no strong leader to guide them. To the Manus came Paliau (a man from a neighboring area) who had a program for change which would bind all the people together and enable them to get European goods and live the way of life of the Western world.

> All the peoples of the Admiralties were to work together; the old lines between one people and another were to be broken down; the sea-dwelling Manus were to move ashore; a treasury was to be built up for future economic improvement; the old bad culture was to be completely abandoned for a new culture which would bring the natives into the world culture (p. 232).

The importance of the Manus Islanders to the world is not that they changed, but that they changed so rapidly. Mead believes this was possible because they changed the entire pattern all at once, including houses, costumes, ceremonies, social organization and law. They even threw all the magical paraphernalia into

the sea. This instance does not coincide with the general belief that "civilization" takes a very long time, possibly many generations, nor with the "known fact" that people change so slowly because they are resistant to change. Is it not possible that what they are resisting are the bits and fragments of Western culture which the government official or missionary offers them because they are not allowed to share the complete pattern? "Resistance in the grudging and selective giver turns out to be as important as resistance in the grudging and selective receiver" (p. 443). This study suggests that it is extremely important that whole culture patterns be available to a people. Mead notes that

> it is easier to shift from being a South Sea Islander to being a New Yorker — as I have seen Samoans do — than to shift from being a perfectly adjusted traditional South Sea Islander to a partly civilized, partly acculturated South Sea Islander, who has been given antiquated versions of our philosophy and politics, a few odds and ends of clothing and furniture, and bits and pieces of our economics (p. 450).

Although Mead's study concerns a total culture, would it not also be applicable to the presentation of Christianity? How many times have people resisted Christianity because they were offered only odds and ends of beliefs and practices and were not allowed to accept the total pattern? The teaching of the brotherhood of man and the unity of the believers in Christ has little meaning to a national Christian who is "kept in his place." Teaching native Christian leaders concerning the leading of the Holy Spirit in making decisions in the church becomes meaningless when the missionary overrules such decisions because they do not conform to his own personal ideas. Failure to allow native peoples to adopt the total pattern of Christianity has led in some places to the acceptance of the message, but the rejection of the missionary because he did not conform to the message which he presented.

It may be that many missionaries need to re-appraise their presentation of Christianity in the light of this study.

ACCULTURATION, by Melville J. Herskovits. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith. 1938. 155 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by J.O.B., III

This welcome reprint treats the very theoretical core of the chief concerns of PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. This is not to say that Professor Herskovits is at all concerned with "the development of a more effective world-wide Christianity . . ." but *Acculturation* analyzes, with clarity and value for today, no less than for the 1930's, the dynamics of the processes involved in contact between cultures, and in the transmission of culture traits and complexes.

For the missionary, the complex to be transmitted is not only cultural, but is also one which has a supercultural dimension. Once the evangelist carries Christianity from one culture to another, however, he is immediately operating in the realm of acculturation, as an agent of cultural transmission. The contents of Prof. Herskovits' study is for him.

"No, it isn't!" I can almost hear Prof. Herskovits reply. Characteristically shy of anything that allows values or "practical" ends to motivate one's research, Herskovits, director of Northwestern University's famous Program of African Studies, presents his material for the sake of its contribution to a scientific and

completely objective inquiry alone. And, with good reason, he was skeptical of the value of "practical anthropology," as the applied anthropology, mostly British, of that day was called. A great proportion of acculturation, or culture-contact, studies were concerned with practical problems, and "when practical results are the end of such studies, a sense of historical perspective is ordinarily lacking" (p. 30). The subject of acculturation, however, is still central to "practical anthropology."

Appended to the volume is the "Outline for the Study of Acculturation" prepared by Herskovits, Robert Redfield, and the late Ralph Linton, who were appointed as a subcommittee of the Social Science Research Council in 1935. Their findings on the concept and analysis of "acculturation" were to act as a guide in acculturation research. This "Outline" is a handy guide for the understanding of many types of contact situations, and the processes of acculturation. It may be used as an indication of what to anticipate in the way of a culture's selecting, rejecting, accepting, adapting, and integrating Christianity, or any other trait or complex in general.

The only drawback to the volume is that nothing, not even the bibliography, has been revised or brought up to date to include some reference to the many valuable works in acculturation in the twenty years since it was first published.

LETTERS

"Good Business" for Missions

PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY came today,[1] and I have just finished reading it straight through. I am compelled to write you immediately, even if there is now time only for a short note. I deeply admire the insight which brings one through the prejudices of two camps — many mission establishments, on the one hand, and many secular applied social scientists and political liberals on the other. Further, I must confess admiration for the care taken in the articles: Illustrations striking (e.g., the Jerusalem church — should make any diehard old-timer sit up and take notice), lots of data (some from personal experience), a specificity so often lacking in articles suggesting change, and a flow that comes from knowing just what you want to say. Lastly, I take off my hat to the courage to make these matters clear (e.g., current misunderstandings as to what an indigenous church is — what a real one would be, and in some cases, is, as opposed to the usual self-supporting, self-governing, etc., formula). The other side of this last point is that I may have underestimated your audience; they may be ready for your message. I had thought not. I have felt deeply so many of the things you say, but partly because I am not in a position to criticize, and partly because I thought that more harm than good would be done by "attacking" interests so powerfully protected, I have felt it best to keep quiet. In fact, I have felt that the self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating movement is a feeble but right step (one in the right direc-

[1] Vol. 5, No. 2 (Mar.-Apr., 1958).

tion), and all that could be expected of the agents involved at this time. As I say, I may have underestimated modern missions.

It may be appropriate to add something here. I believe that if what you suggest were applied by missions it would be "good business" for them; it would avoid so many of the cruelties and injustices that are caused (all in good faith and with no poor intentions) by mission activities; and it would lead to a good adjustment between East and representatives of West. What you say means all this to me. But, further, I wanted to say that *in addition* I found myself agreeing personally with your *basic* message because of the way you handle the relationship between the absolute and the relative.

Merril Jackson
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Stimulating

I have found PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY to be a stimulating experience in my work. Its greatest service to me personally, to date, has been to spell out clearly in principle and detail the tremendous importance of the dynamics of culture in any missionary endeavor. This admittedly has been something of a blind spot with me and probably with more missionaries than one would think.

How desperately difficult it is to disassociate oneself from one's own culture with its customs, its preferences, its arts, its expressions, its taboos, etc.

How dangerously easy it is to lump the strange, the crude, the different, the foreign, that which is not understood, into one over-all category of — "essentially evil."

Could I make one suggestion? Why not borrow a feature of many other magazines, that is the little footnote on the lead page of every article, giving a thumbnail sketch of the author — his background, schooling, position, present occupation, etc.?

J. E. Bertsche
Mukedi, Belgian Congo

Internal Tensions in Missionary Culture

A recent issue[1] of the excellent magazine, PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, carried a very readable article on interpersonal relationships among missionaries, which stressed the problem of the invisible barrier between "senior" and "junior" missionaries. You may be interested in a few comments about the efforts of this Mission to eliminate or, at least, to reduce substantially, this barrier. Very briefly, the effort is four-pronged:

1. The appointment of a missionary-on-the-field to begin correspondence with the appointee and attempt to develop a good personal relationship even before the appointee comes to the field. A missionary on his station is the choice.

2. The use of a packet of orientation materials including statements on mission policy and strategy.

3. Yearly "orientation conferences" at which the newcomers . . . all first-term missionaries . . . share and air their problems together with two or three staff members who have been longer on the field. Particular attention is paid to discussions which reveal areas of tension or which show weakness in preliminary information which has been given to the new staff members.

4. The appointment of a personnel secretary.

[1] Vol. 5, No. 1, (Jan.-Feb., 1958) pp. 33-37.

We feel that the above program, aimed both to assist the newcomer in adjustment problems and to point out to the earlier arrival his possible weaknesses in attitude and association, has done much to reduce the barrier. In our most recent orientation conference, now three months past, it was the frequently expressed opinion that "seniority" and "juniority" feelings have not been a problem among us.

Charles M. Bieber
Assistant Secretary
Church of the Brethren Mission
Jos, Nigeria

Transforming Ideas of God

My wife and I congratulate you on a very stimulating and helpful magazine which is certainly "down to earth" in wrestling with missionary problems while maintaining standards acceptable to any scholar and anthropologist.

We are doing pioneer linguistic and evangelistic work with the Chirripo Indians, a small tribe in Costa Rica. We have been particularly interested in the problem of transforming a people's idea of God. This was involved in the two articles by Dr. Reyburn, "The Transformation of God and the Conversion of Man" and "Kaka Kinship, Sex, and Adultery." However, while there was a good presentation of the problem, we felt that there were no concrete solutions given. Therefore, we would like to see some definite suggestions, concrete examples of how a Christian content of meaning has been successfully given to a pagan name for God.

We are using *Sibu*, which on the surface is comparable to Spanish *Dios*, the Christian almighty, creative God. However, the more we learn about *Sibu*, the less comfortable we feel about it — though we plan to continue to do so. Last week I saw a grotesque figure of *Sibu* drawn in charcoal on the post of a new hut. On another post was a similar sketch of *Sibuca* (Father God) — unknown to me before. Since then, I see in my mind these figures every time I say *Sibu*, and feel that their *Sibu* and my *Sibu* are two different Gods.

Aziel W. Jones
Turrialba, Costa Rica

Some Suggestions

I have been reading PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY with great interest and would like to share several things with you that occurred to me as I read the September-October (1957) issue.

I was very much interested in the last sentence of Bill Reyburn's article on page 193. ["Merely renouncing a pagan god or belief system does not in any way in itself mean that the renouncing individual is thereby prepared to grasp in faith the idea and spiritual reality of the Christian God of loving redemption."] Isn't there a sense in which this principle is applicable to American (U. S.) pagans as well as those on so-called mission fields? If so, it would be very interesting to have PA deal with this sometime.

On page 198, where you are commenting on the attack on the Christian and Missionary Alliance station, you refer to this affair as being temporarily defeated by the law enforcement agency. If PA has ever written on this issue, I would like to see the copy in which it was handled. I frankly have some serious question as to whether missionaries can ever appeal to law enforcement agencies for protection without setting back their work for a long time.

Paul A. Hopkins
Philadelphia 3, Pa.